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ABSTRACT

Information is provided in this monograph to facilitate understanding of Cuban cultural values and their implications for counseling limited English proficient students. Also provided is a beginning conceptual model for increasing the understanding of cross-cultural theory and practice. The overview of Cuban culture is based on a perspective of value orientations which emphasizes the evolving nature of cultures. The titles of the report's 13 chapters and some of their sub-themes are as follows: (1) Introduction to the Cultural Monograph Series and to Cultural Value Orientations; (2) The Conceptualization of Value Orientations: Axiological Definitions; (3) A Case Study for Cross-Cultural Counseling; (4) Cuban Value Orientations (Pre-revolutionary Cuban Value Orientations; Post-revolutionary Cuban Value Orientations; Santeria); (5) Factors Affecting Cross-Cultural Counseling (Language; Social Group of the Client); (6) Areas of Conflict Between Cuban and American Values (Acculturation; Assessing Behavioral Indicators of Cultural Adaptation; Assessing Adaptation of Cultural Values); (7) Cross-Cultural Activity; (8) Values Affecting Cross-Cultural Counseling (Anglo/Cuban Relationships; Conflict); (9) Possible Conflicts Between Counselor and Client; (10) Emerging Skills and Roles of the Counselor; (11) Mental Health; (12) Counseling Strategies and Techniques; and (13) Conclusions. Two appendices consist of a general outline of United States Value Orientations and an essay, "Mirror Images of Conflict," by Sandra Fradd. (KH)

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CUBAN VALUE ORIENTATIONS

CULTURAL MONOGRAPH NUMBER 1

BILINGUAL MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION TRAINING PROJECT FOR SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGISTS AND GUIDANCE COUNSELORS

University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611
June 1983

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PREFACE

There are less than 45 certified bilingual school psychologists and guidance counselors in Florida's public schools today. Thus, only a very small number of limited English proficient students (LEPs) in Florida schools have the services of bilingual school support personnel available to them. The majority of LEPs seeking school support services for counseling, testing, or placement into special programs are being served by monolingual speakers of English. Although translators can be used, they may not be available and the use of an interpreter may not even be valid in certain cases and in some kinds of service activities. Also, the lack of training in the purposes and techniques of psychologists and counselors may make translators more of a burden that reduces the degree to which rapport and self-disclosure by the client are achieved.

Realizing the impossibility of training all school psychologists and counselors in the languages of their clients, the authors reviewed literature on cross-cultural counseling and testing bias. The purpose was to identify areas of knowledge and practical training which would aid psychologists and counselors in dealing with LEP students from different cultural backgrounds. The primary goal was the development of a training project which would develop a monolingual counselor's and psychologist's cross-cultural skills.

These skills included helping the monolingual counselor and psychologist to better understand the cultural differences which exist between them and their clients -- barriers which might be preventing successful treatment. It was believed that cultural awareness would positively affect the counselor's and psychologist's ability to elicit and interpret information about the client. The result would thus be the improvement of the quality of school support services available to the LEP students.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The researching and writing of the University of Florida's cultural monograph series have taken more than two years. They could not have been completed without the assistance of many dedicated people. First, we would like to acknowledge the financial support we received from the U.S. Office of Education, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs, Grant No. G008102500. Not only did the grant make possible the writing of the monographs, it also provided for training programs and summer institutes for school support personnel throughout Florida.

We would also like to give special thanks to Dr. José Szapocznik from the University of Miami School of Medicine. His critical and insightful review of our draft edition gave us invaluable guidance in writing the final copy.

In addition to the many typists who helped us meet the dealines, we are grateful to all the school support services personnel who participated in the training seminars, the faculty members who reviewed the materials, and the graduate students who helped with the initial research.

Clemens L. Hallman
Anne E. Campbell

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE CULTURAL MONOGRAPH SERIES AND TO CULTURAL VALUE ORIENTATIONS

The Cultural Monograph Series provides the reader with an overview of varying cultures. This overview is presented from the perspective of value orientations. It should be pointed out that any attempt to describe a culture or a subculture is at best dangerous. Culture is not static, it is an evolving phenomenon, subject to continuous change. The study of culture and of cross cultural inquiry is an emergent field of endeavor.

The material persented in the Culture Monograph Series is based on A Conceptualization of Value Orientations and on the corresponding Axiological Definitions, developed at the University of Florida by Dr. Clemens L. Hallman (1981). The material includes cultural and cross cultural research conducted in the United States and in Latin America. An understanding of A Conceptualization of Value Orientations and of the corresponding Axiological Definitions is requisite to an understanding of the material presented in all the cultural monographs in the series. The following section provides the reader with an overview of the aforementioned conceptual schemes.

CONCEPTUAL SCHEMES

As one grows up one takes one's cultural patterns of behavior for granted. It's the "natural" thing to do. Because of this phenomenon it is hard to understand why people from another culture behave so differently. One does not realize that a person from another culture is behaving according to his/her cultural patterns of behavior. Culture as defined here means: the learned patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving that make life meaningful for a particular group of human beings. The implications of such a definition are as follows:

A. Cultural patterns of behavior are learned.

B. We are usually not aware of the fact that our behavior is learned, or of the reasons why we behave the way we do. Our culture is natural for us--we learn our unique patterns of behavior based on our personal experience: from our parents, friends, community, i.e., our "environment".

C. This means that people the world over have learned how to behave, to think, and to feel, largely by those surrounding them, by their native environment.

D. Growing up in a particular place, learning the patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving expected by people in the group, often means that we think of other people, apart from our "own", as different, often somewhat strange. This is especially true if they look different, i.e., color, size, if they behave differently from us and if they speak a different language.

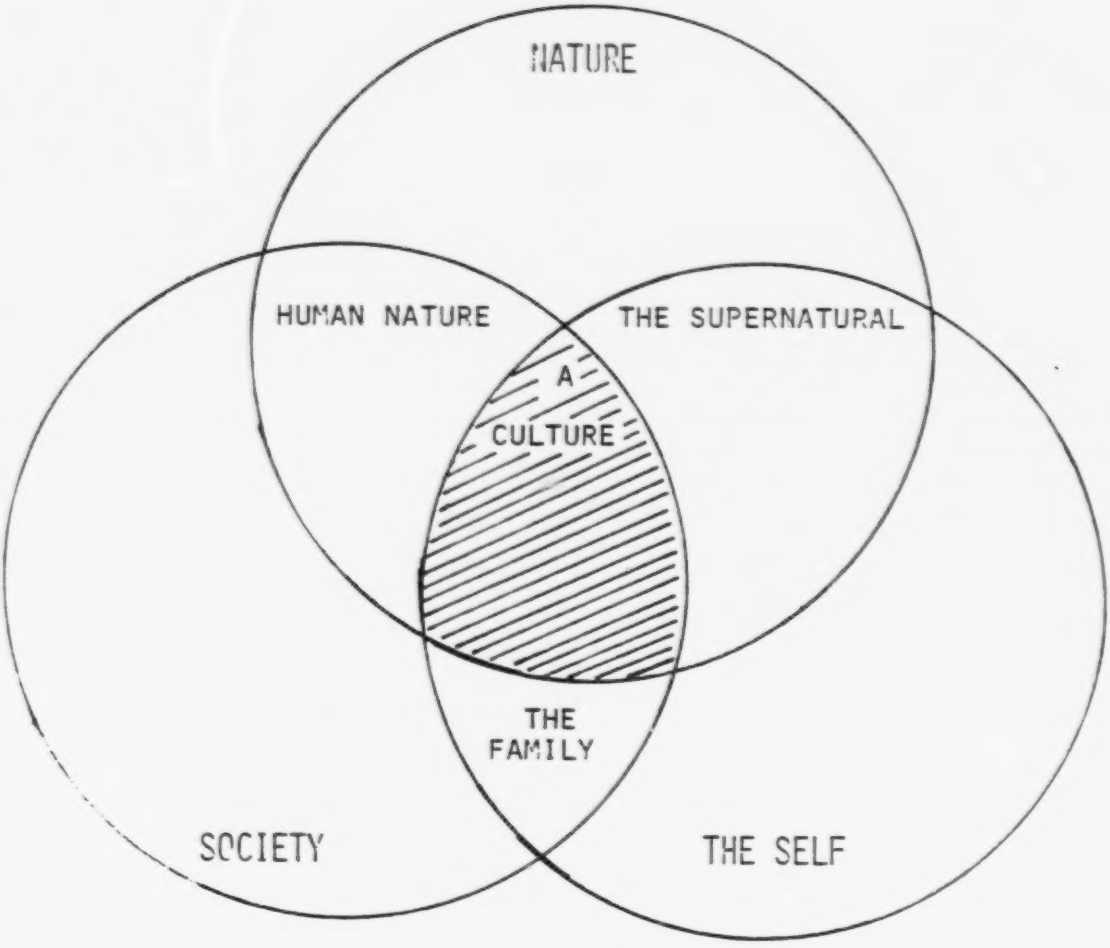
E. Much of our prejudice, our bias towards others, is based on the "cultural shell" which surrounds and nurtures us from birth. From our environment we learn our attitudes towards others and our feelings toward certain types of people. When someone looks or behaves differently from us, we tend to judge him/her from our vantage point. We usually do not stop and think "Well, maybe he/she is behaving in a certain way because he/she is coming from a different 'cultural shell' than mine."

F. The above considerations point to the fact that no one is better than the other, that no one is right and everyone else is wrong. Our behavior is largely determined by the process of socialization that we have undergone through our native culture. Our environment has not only led us, but has constrained us, in terms of what we believe is right, what we believe is true, what we believe is valuable, and what we believe is wrong.

G. EVERY CULTURE IS VALID, because it serves the purpose of making life meaningful for a particular group. Every person, thus, has dignity and worth as an individual, and as a member of a particular group, whether that group be Mexican, French, Chinese, Cuban, Egyptian, American, Jamaican or any other.

Condon and Yousef (1979) developed six clusters of cultural values which they feel are common to all cultures. Basically, the clusters reflect solutions which a culture provides for solving human problems. These six clusters defined below, are an expansion of the five clusters developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961).

1. NATURE: The value placed on the degree to which natural occurrences determine thought and activity. Orientation to time - future, present, past - is also included here.
2. THE SELF: The value placed on one's own being and worth as an individual in a particular age group, sex, and activity.
3. SOCIETY: The value placed on the degree to which individuals feel responsible to participate in societal interaction.
4. THE SUPERNATURAL: The value placed on the degree of influence on control of a power greater than human power.
5. HUMAN NATURE: The value placed on the degree of innate reasoning ability, goodness, search for happiness and necessity for change which affects the individual.
6. THE FAMILY: The value placed on the unit of members of related bloodline including extended and ancestral parentage.


NATURE
HUMAN NATURE
THE SUPERNATURAL
A CULTURE
THE FAMILY
SOCIETY
THE SELF

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These six clusters are futher divided into subclusters. Within each subcluster are the possible variations of choice for solving that problem. There is a composite total of 33 variations. It is these variations which reflect the value orientations a culture holds.

When dealing with values and beliefs one must keep in mind that value orientations are constructs, and are therefore abstract. They can be useful only when considered "as if" statements, i.e., Latin Americans behave "as if" believing that the family unit is more important than youth. One must also keep in mind the interrelatedness that exists in value orientations, a change in one area can affect one or more other areas. If we look at the following figure we can see the interrelatedness and interdependence that exist among the six value orientation counterparts which define or encompass the phenomenon known as culture. Nature, the Self, and Society are the three main clusters. Their intersections provide the other three clusters - the Supernatural, Human Nature, and the Family. The intersection of all six value clusters results in "Culture".

Culture, as previously defined, means the learned patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving that make life meaningful for a particular group of human beings. Culture, however, is not static. It is constantly changing - no matter how slowly - as a result of individual and group experience and interactions with other individuals and groups because of the interrelatedness of the six value constructs. Change in the way one views Self may affect the way one sees society, or nature, and vice versa. Further, the way a culture views society or nature may affect the way the family and the supernatural are perceived in that culture, as well as how an individual may be perceived as having a separate but equal place in society.

Although the diagram on the previous page shows each construct as being equal, it must be remembered that each culture gives different degrees of importance to each cluster, stresses different variations within each cluster, and relates the clusters differently. In one culture, definition of Self may be an individual matter, fairly independent of others within the society or even the family. In another culture, however, a person may define Self largely in terms of his/her relationship to others and to society. Also, while some cultures may value age and experience, others may value youth and experiences. Finally, in some cultures, property may be seen as an extension of Self, while in others it may be communal with no personal claim to ownership.

For the purposes of the monograph series, differences in value orientations between cultures will be emphasized. It should be pointed out, however, that differences in value orientations also exist between subgroups within a culture. These within group differences may be greater than the differences that exist between cultures. For example, the differences that exist in cultural value orientations between urban and rural settings in the same nation may be greater than that found between cosmopolitan urban settings of different nations, particularly at the surface observations.

The Study of Cultures

The study of cultures and of cross-cultural values and beliefs can be facilitated by conceptualizing value orientations as a range of choices, of possible solutions for dealing with human problems common to all cultures. While this conceptualizing can provide the study of cultures a degree of objectivity it is important to remember that it is impossible for one to look at other cultures in a totally objective manner. Thus, anytime an individual from one culture looks at another culture, or devises a conceptual scheme with which to look at other cultures, that person's native culture will tend to influence her/his perceptions. With this fact in mind, it must be recognized that United States' cultural patterns have influenced, to a certain degree, the conceptual scheme. For example, the subcategories presented for Axiological Definitions utilize a tripart categorization. Such categorization is typical of United States society. Nevertheless, it is felt that through the use of The Conceptualization of Value Orientations, one may begin to understand the possible range of value orientations across cultures.

The Conceptualization of Value Orientations presented in this Monograph, and utilized as the basis for cross-cultural analysis, was developed over numerous years of serious study and of research conducted throughout the world. It is based on the work of Kluckholn and Strodtbeck (1961) and Condon and Yousef (1979) and incorporates the authors' interpretations and findings.

The Axiological Definitions, presented in the following section are part of A Conceptualization of Value Orientations. These definitions, as well as the conceptual scheme, have been researched and successfully presented by the authors in workshops and in cultural and cross-cultural training seminars in the United States, in the Caribbean, and in South America. Based on such success, it is felt that the Conceptualization of Value Orientations is useful and valid for the study of various cultures, and for a comparative analysis of contrasts and similarities between United States' society and other cultures.

In order to facilitate an understanding of the material presented in this Monograph, the reader is urged to read The Conceptualization of Cultural Values and the corresponding Axiological Definitions. The reader is also encouraged to frequently refer to the Axiological Definitions while reading the examples provided for the cultural group in this Monograph.

II. THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS: AXIOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS

Value orientations are cultural principles and beliefs which humans have determined in attempting to give order and direction toward solving life's problems and evaluating the solutions involving the self, family, society, human nature, nature and the supernatural.

I. Self - the value placed on one's own being and worth as an individual in a particular age group and sex and activity pattern.

  A. Individualism - Interdependence - the value placed on how a person views his/her separateness.

    1. individualism - the sense that each person has of having a separate but equal place in society.

    2. individuality - a person's freedom to act differently within the limits set by the social structure.

    3. interdependence - the pattern where the self is largely determined by a person's current relationship to others in the social structure.

  B. Age - value placed on number of years which are considered the most influential over others.

    1. youth - a degree of maturity, vigor, idealism and freshness

    2. middle years - the period of life from about 40 to 60, combines experience and vigor.

    3. old age - past middle age, accumulation of experiences, wisdom, skills.

  C. Sex - the value placed on masculine/feminine role distinctions

    1. equality of the sexes - no particular role distinction; all persons are allowed similar development of potentials and skills with shared responsibilities.

    2. female superiority - authority of women in decision-making

    3. male superiority - authority of men in decision-making

D. Activity - the value of usefulness based on function.

1. doing - active emphasis on energy, accomplishments, creativity.

2. being-in-becoming - emphasis on what human is rather than what he/she can accomplish, self-actualization.

3. being - emphasis on spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be "given" in the human personality (impulses, desires, etc.)

II. The Family - the value placed on the unit of members of a group related by blood including extended and ancestral parentage.

A. Relational Orientations - the value placed on tendencies toward principles which define relationships.

1. individualistic - capable of being independent of particular groupings such as the family or peers.

2. collateral - the extended family which includes ancestry. There is a strong emotional link between members of a given family.

3. lineal - family historical inheritance respected.

B. Authority - the value placed on power of decision-making individual(s) of the family unit.

1. democratic - contributions of individual family members toward decisions involving the whole family unit.

2. authority-centered - decisions, activities, instructions for family are based on an external abstract faith (religion) or structure.

3. authoritarian - authoritarian parent (usually father) makes important decisions, "benevolent dictatorship".

C. Positional Role Behavior - value placed on expectations of particular performance of duties or behavior within the family unit.

1. open - no necessary expected role behavior appropriate to age and/or sex.

2. general - clear but general kinds of expectations for a person according to age, sex and position in family to exhibit certain types of conduct concomitant with preordained options; compromises and alternatives are possible.

3. specific - specific rights and obligations as determined by sex and age, set form of conduct and duties.

D. Mobility - value place on change and moveability.

1. high mobility - capable of any change toward self-improvement or betterment of oneself, develop individual potential.

2. phasic mobility - minimal, limited or periodic movement with the expectation of returning to place of origin.

3. low mobility - change considered detrimental to one's well-being.

III. Society - the value placed on the degree to which individuals feel responsible to participate in societal interactions.

A. Social Reciprocity - the value placed on the degree to which people are symbiotic in society.

1. independence - avoid commitments or obligations as threats to freedom.

2. symmetrical-obligatory - obligations to guarantee smooth interaction and sharing, relationships among equals as beneficial investments for all.

3. complementary-obligatory - relationship among unequals; subordination.

B. Group Membership - the value placed on the individuals participation in collective activities.

1. many groups, brief identification, subordination of group to individual

2. balance of no. 1 and 3 - individual exercises greater personal freedom in selecting group affiliation with a greater range of obligations and length of affiliation.

3. few groups, prolonged identification, subordination of the member to the group - individual is born into and remains part of social groups.

C. Intermediaries - the value placed on individuals who do or do not serve negotiators.

1. no intermediaries (directness) - the one-to-one approach, the personal relationship.

2. specialist intermediaries only - go-betweens providing a needed service only to facilitate communications between groups and/or individuals.

3. essential intermediaries - negotiators needed to maintain certain obligations toward and extracts comparable obligations from those served.

D. Formality - the value placed on the degree of ceremony, decorum, dignity, respect appropriate to function in society.

1. informality - unnecessary formal codes of conduct, titles and honorifics, speech; naturalness.

2. selective formality - formality used for certain interactions.

3. pervasive formality - formality seen as necessary for smooth and predictable interaction.

E. Property - the value placed on ownership of material goods.

1. private - considered an extension of self, representative of person's character and social status.

2. utilitarian - considered as having value only as it is practical, useful, used and necessary.

3. community - neither personal claims of ownership nor right through usage are relevant; property and natural resources considered as inherently possessed by all equally.

IV. Human Nature - the value placed on the degree of innate reasoning ability, goodness, search for happiness and necessity for change as it affects the individual.

A. Rationality - the value placed on the degree of necessity for reasoning ability.

1. rationality - reasonable behavior to adhere to criteria and standards subject to the judgment and appraisal of others seen as acceptable to other reasonable people.

2. intuitive - an innate possession of knowledge not subject to judgments or appraisals of others.

3. irrational - not conforming to norms of rationality; persons accredited with special powers of intuition or prescience, abstract or contradictory tracks of thought.

B. Good and Evil - value placed on the degree or the influence of good and evil.

1. good - what constitutes acceptable factors for continued harmony, growth and uninterruped productivity and well-being of all.

2. mixture of good and evil - concept that good and evil are dependent upon individual perception.

3. evil - concept that negative factors contribute to unwanted disequilibrium and disharmony of human behavior.

C. Happiness and Pleasure - the value placed on the degree of personal peace of mind and active enjoyment of life considered important.

1. happiness as goal - the goal toward physical and emotional satisfaction and stability.

2. inextricable bond of happiness and sadness - complacent acceptance of life's events as both happy and sad without* complaining, judging or retaliating, of adjusting one's feelings to circumstances.

*abandoned enjoyment

3. life is mostly sadness - conformist views which bear sadness as hope for happiness only after death.

D. Mutability - the value placed on the degree of change, growth considered acceptable for fulfillment.

1. change, growth, learning - active emphasis on change as means to betterment.

2. some change - acceptance of only those changes which are not counter-productive.

3. unchanging - change is regarded as threatening and unstable.

V. Nature - the value placed on the degree to which natural occurences determine human thought and activity.

A. Relationship of Man and Nature - the value placed on human control of natural forces.

1. man dominating nature - the view that man has power over natural forces and thereby controls his destiny and search for perfection.

2. man in harmony with nature - the combination of powers of man and the unpredictability of natural forces to produce an overall force to exist.

3. nature dominating man - humans fatalistically subjugated entirely to natural forces, an acceptance of human's incapacity to dominate nature.

B. Ways of Knowing Nature - the value placed on the interpretation of natural phenomena.

1. abstract - dissassociation from specific knowledge; hypothetical reasoning.

2. circle of induction-deduction - clearly understood, concrete evidence tests and modifies abstract theory or concept.

3. specific - empirical, scientific evidence considered necessary to prove a theory absolutely.

C. Structure of Nature - the value determined by the degree of testing or experimenting with nature.

  1. mechanistic - cause and effect reasoning, analytical thought; testing encouraged.

  2. spiritual - testing or questioning considered destructive, individual feels powerless under control of nature.

  3. organic - any intrusion into the natural world detrimental.

D. Concept of Time - the value placed on the importance of the influence of future, past and present time in evaluating life's problems.

  1. future - expectation of advancement or progressive development; today's activity consumed by planning for tomorrow.

  2. past - conserve what was good in past rather than anticipate something better in future, value tradition and heritage.

  3. present - importance of what is happening today.

VI. The Supernatural - the value placed on the degree of influence or control of a power greater than human power.

A. Relationship of Man and the Supernatural - the value placed on human involvement in determining destiny.

  1. man as god - negates the existence of an external force which influences human destiny.

  2. pantheism - a doctrine which equates God with the forces and laws of the universe.

  3. man controlled by the supernatural - ultimate power in all acts is outside of human control.

B. Meaning of Life - the value placed on goals.

  1. physical, material goals - material wealth, physical well-being and position attained more valued than spiritual or intellectual goals.

  2. intellectual goals - the search for truth, guided by intellect rather than emotion of experience.

  3. spiritual goals - search for favor and protection from all powerful God or gods, soul is considered immortal.

C. Providence - the value placed on the degree of acceptance of good in life.

   1. good in life is unlimited - inherent good in nature.

   2. balance of good and misfortune - presence and balance of both good and misfortune.

   3. good in life is limited - good limited by human imagination and will.

D. Knowledge of the Cosmic Order - the value placed on the degree of acceptance of the organization of the universe.

   1. order is comprehensible - predictable order and consistency throughout the universe are considered plausible.

   2. faith and reason - predictable order is tempered by the acceptance that powers of reason exist beyond human.

   3. mysterious and unknowable - unpredictability, unknowable, unexplainable by religious interpretation.

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Original Value Orientations published in An Introduction to Intercultural Communication, Condon & Yousef, Bobbs-Merrill, 1975.

III. A CASE STUDY FOR CROSS-CULTURAL COUNSELING

Before continuing with the monograph, please complete the following exercise.

The following personal history is based on an actual interview with a 14-year-old male who was part of the Mariel boat lift. His name has been changed, but the information presented is true.

While you are reading, please write down all your reactions to what is stated. After you have read the case history, you will be asked to answer some questions and to develop a counseling strategy to meet Alberto's needs.

Alberto

Alberto is a 14-year-old male. He came to the United States in 1980. In Cuba, he was an excellent student and was also very active in the Pioneers, a communist youth group. In fact, he had planned to major in political science at college and become an active leader in the Communist party.

Alberto never knew his parents were planning to go to the U.S. until one night when he was awakened and told the family was leaving. Today, Alberto deeply resents being in the U.S. He dislikes school. He has few non-Cuban friends. He dislikes where he is living. He misses his friends in Cuba and stated that if allowed he would return to Cuba.

Alberto is proud of being a Communist, but he is afraid to share this feeling. When he tries to discuss communist ideology, he is criticized as being ignorant of the truth. Alberto is also proud of being a Cuban. To him, becoming Americanized means failure, giving up a part of himself of which he is very proud.

These conflicts have resulted in Alberto's alienation from his parents, teachers and classmates, especially those Cubans who have chosen to become part of the American culture. This alienation has affected Alberto. His school work has declined, and his parents are worried about the changes they perceive, but don't understand.

Based on the information presented above, develop a strategy for counseling Alberto. Consider the following questions as you develop your plan.

1. What reactions and feeling did you record while you read? How would these reactions affect the counseling relationship?
2. What attitudes of Alberto would significantly affect the counseling relationship? How might they be manifested?
3. What counseling techniques would you use, and why?
4. What significant others, if any, would you incorporate into the counseling process?
5. What factors do you feel would prevent the establishment of an effective counseling relationship and why? Pick one of the factors, and devise a strategy to overcome the barriers it would create.

Once you have completed the exercise, continue reading the monograph. Use the monograph as a guide to evaluate your strategy. Did you anticipate the barriers? Did you identify the feelings? Did you choose the most appropriate strategies to effectively counsel Alberto? If not, what did you miss? Finally, after reading the monograph, redesign your strategy for counseling Alberto.

Articles which provide insight into counseling Alberto are listed below. While some are not specifically based on counseling Cubans, the underlying theories and information they provide are both relevant and applicable.

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IV. CUBAN VALUE ORIENTATIONS

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY CUBAN VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Introduction

The following section provides the reader with examples of the value orientations of both pre-revolutionary Cuban and of many Cubans who came to the U.S. after the revolution. It should be noted that these represent ideal orientations, and not all Cubans will reflect all the values illustrated here. Also, these values are not just applicable to pre-revolutionary Cuba. As is discussed later in this monograph, many Cubans who stayed in Cuba after the revolution maintained many of the pre-revolutionary values illustrated here.

The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with Cuban perspective on the value orientations. The perspective is limited, since it is based on literature and research rather than on interviews and the experience of living in Cuba or in Cuban communities. It is hoped that by reading this section, the counselor will gain some insight into the values his/her Cuban clients may hold. Also, it is hoped that the examples may provide the reader with alternative explanations for a client's behavior or interpretations of reality.

It is important to remember that these examples illustrate ideal types. Each Cuban client, due to his/her own life experiences will demonstrate varying degrees of the value orientations. The reader is cautioned not to stereotype or fall into the trap of making the client fit the values. Rather, it is suggested that the value orientations be used as guides or alternative explanations in the development of sensitive and successful counseling relationships.

Value Orientations

I. Self

A. Individualism (This pre-revolutionary Cuban value orientation lies between individuality and interdependence)

1. "Frequently, if a parent or relative has been involved in an occupation, the young are expected to follow family tradition. Cuban-American students often find themselves faced with the dilemma of either fulfilling strong family expectations or pursuing careers that may be more personally enriching and satisfying." (Greco and McDavis, 1978)
2. "An elderly woman spoke of her isolation from friends and relatives. She had been divorced for many years and felt bored and dispaired from being alone most weekends. Yet, she felt inhibited around old friends from Cuba because she was holding a menial job in contrast to her female friends who had worked in higher status occupations. She also added that being divorced prevented her from participating in social activities with friends who are married, (p. 6)." (Szapocznik, et al., 1977)
3. "While Hernandez (1974) found that only seven percent of Hispanic elders surveyed reported mental illness and psychosocial adjustment problems as being important, he indicates that reticence to admit to such problems is substantial in Hispanic elders since the admission of this type of problem reflects negatively on the extended family as a source of support and the individual's own self-worth and image, (p. 16)." (Szapocznik, et al., 1977)

4. "Cuban children tend to be field dependent and have an external locus of control. They respond better to praise and reinforcement from others than to internal self motivation. Cuban children are apt to work well together and poorly alone. The Cuban student...is probably more responsive to praise and more sensitive to criticism. The sensitivity to loss of face in front of a group is far greater than that of a typical Anglo and they are less likely to have a ready defense against sarcasm, (p. 41)." (State of Florida, 1981)

B. Age (old age - past ideal)

1. "In Cuba, the elderly enjoyed a central and well respected position, within their extended family. At the most materialistic level, the elders of the family are usually the owners of the important possessions the family may have held. Even with the very poor, in a fisherman's family, for example, it was the grandparent who owned the fishing boat in which family members fished. So that economically, the elders were usually in a position to make financial contribution to the family, (p. 7)." (Szapocznik, et al., 1977)

2. "With respect to the transmission of culture, in a society such as Cuba in which traditions had remained strong, the elders were an important source of information. Since knowledge increased in the island at a relatively slow rate, older persons by virtue of their years had been able to accumulate more information than the young, and thus were considered knowledgeable, (p. 8)." (Szapocznik, et al., 1977)

3. "For many elderly persons, the expectation of a respected and dignified role within the extended family was a major source

of meaning. They had expected that in their sunset years they would be the ultimate authority figure and major contributors to their family's well being, (p. 15)." (Szapocznik, et al., 1977)

Note: For Cuban-Americans in the U.S. the orientation is moving toward youth. This change has influenced family conflict, especially when this orientation is strongly valued by older family members.

C. Sex (male superiority)

a. "According to the 1953 census, only one out of seven women worked outside her home...and these jobs were extremely limited. Women in pre-revolutionary Cuba, . . .filled the lowest ranks in the reserve labor army...In 1953, the major industrial sectors open to female employment were tobacco (where women constituted 37% of the workers) and textiles (where women constituted 46% of the workers). Many women seeking work could only land jobs as domestic workers...The level at which education was provided to women insured that they would not move out of their designated roles, (p. 4)." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)

2. "The heritage of pre-revolutionary times left women with several specific handicaps. Their level of education and training was minimal. Ancient taboos which instructed them to remain at home considered the calle, or street, the man's province, and the casa, or home, the woman's place. Finally, there was the assumption that all work related to house and children had to be done by women, (p. 5)." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)

3. "Machismo is Latin culture's definition of manhood. It dichotomizes men's identity as men and women's as women into prescribed roles. Men are aggressive and women passive -- especially in relation to each other. Men act, women nurture and serve. Men dominate, women submit. Women take care of the house, the food, and the children, (p. 30)." (Steffens, 1974)
4. "Put simplistically, men relate to the world directly, women relate to the world through family, (p. 30)." (Steffens, 1974)

   Note: Although male superiority was a value in many aspects of social life it must be stated that the woman was highly esteemed with relation to the family. The family was highly revered in Cuban culture, and the woman's role was to nurture and tend to the family. It should also be mentioned that prerevolutionary Cuba also had some of the most advanced maternity laws in Latin America.

D. Activity (Being-in-becoming)

1. "Work to live, not live to work" is a philosophy that summarizes a Cuban-American's philosophy about work. Work is not a first priority for Cuban-Americans in terms of satisfaction or self-definition. Espin and Renner (1974), in referring to work within the Latin culture, state that the absence of a Protestant heritage reduces the importance of work in life and makes it less important in defining a self-concept. The function of work within the Cuban-American culture is primarily economic and is perceived as the activity that gives an individual the economic stability necessary to support his or her kin." (Greco and McDavis, 1978)

II. The Family

A. Relational Orientations (Collateral - strong emotional link between members of the extended family - ideal)

1. "For Cuban-Americans, a primary source of satisfaction stems from extended family ties and friends. Cuban-American parents and their children retain very close ties even when the children temporarily leave home to pursue a college education. Often, Cuban-American parents finance college costs and remain actively involved in their children's career development." (Greco and McDavis, 1978)

2. Cubans "value highly family ties and their family units, which extend in many cases to include grandparents, cousins, aunts, and uncles." (Klovekorn, Madera, and Nardone, 1974)

3. "Retarded and physically handicapped children may have their needs taken care of completely at home." (State of Florida, 1981)

4. "The loss of the country implies the loss of supportive systems such as a familiar church and the extended family which were the two most important systems in providing comfort and protection in a time of sorrow, (p. 9)." (Szapocznik, et al., 1977)

5. "Cuba has always been characterized by the extended rather than the nuclear family. Such large, rural families embrace not only the parents and their offspring, but grandparents and often aunts, uncles, cousins, and other relatives, (p. 20)." (Leiner, 1974)

B. Authority (Authority Centered)

1. "A first priority for Cuban-Americans is to accomodate work in a fashion that most enhances the family as a unit. Family oriented goals often play an important part when an individual makes vocational plans. Professional trends in the family influence the vocational choices of the younger family members." (Greco and McDavis, 1978)

C. Positional Role Behavior (General)

1. "Young Cuban children are not allowed to explore the community as freely as their American counterparts. Such activities as crossing streets, going to stores alone, going out at night alone, or going unaccompanied to school are not generally permitted." (State of Florida, 1981)
2. "At the beginning of the school year, a Cuban mother went to register her son Carlos in kindergarten. She was told by the principal that in order for her son to adjust well in school she should leave him in the classroom and go home, even if the child were crying. During the day the teacher noticed that on several occasions Carlos would get close to the window and call 'Mommy!' Then a voice would answer from behind a tree in the distance, "Yes, Carlos, mommy is here." (Klovekorn, Madera, Nardone, 1974)
3. "Adjustment to kindergarten can be a traumatic experience for Cuban children because they are usually very dependent on their mothers. It is hard on both mother and child to be separated from each other." (Klovekorn, Madera, Nardone, 1974)

III. Society - Intermediaries (Specialist Intermediaries Only)

   A. "The class structure within the Cuban culture is fairly distinct. Its middle class is powerful and performs the critical role of intermediary in negotiations with the Anglo American groups." (State of Florida, 1981)

IV. Human Nature - Happiness, Pleasure (Inextricable Bond of Happiness and Sadness)

   A. " what fatal law is that which has condemned us to not conquering good without passing through pain?, why must there always be a Calvary for all the orators of truth?...The hemlock, the cross, and the chain have frequently been the reward of all those who have endeavoured to advance their century, without any desire other than that of the happiness of the community of their brothers." (Merchan, p. 58, 1948)

   B. "Of that which we are sure is that civilization cannot be attained without the force of work, self-denial, and sacrifice, and that human progress cannot realize itself without our resigning ourselves to passing through the tests of suffering." (Merchan, p. 58, 1948)

V. Nature

   A. Relationship of Man and Nature (nature dominating man)

      1. "In schools with large numbers of Cuban children, classrooms are almost empty on rainy days. Parents keep their children at home because they believe that they will catch a cold if they get wet. In comparison to the American parents the Cubans feel a cold is a much more dangerous sickness, since it could lead to more serious ailments." (Klovekorn, Madera, and Nardone, 1974)

2. "The moment of tobacco harvesting must be carefully chosen, not too early and not too late, before the leaf starts to yellow,...and when the rainy season is over, so the tobacco will not start growing again. And in the dark of the moon, according to the old planters, so the leaves will not get holes in them, as happens if they are cut in the light of the moon." (Ortíz, 1970, p. 29)

3. "Many Cuban immigrants lack an orientation to attempt to exercise control over detrimental natural forces and environmental conditions, whereas mainstream Anglo Americans are more likely to perceive themselves as having mastery over their environment." (Szapocznik, 1979, p. 6)

B. Concept of Time (Present)

1. "The children from this group (lower class Cubans) tend to be more concrete in their expectations for the future. Goals and career plans revolve around immediate needs and closeness to home." (State of Florida, 1981)

VI. The Supernatural - Knowledge of the Cosmic Order (Faith and Reason)

"There runs through the veins of our society more force and more fire than the enemies of civilization would like. We don't doubt this, because the greatest soul vacilates sometimes when his companions are fighting against the uncertainness of doubt. On the contrary, we will remember that faith is the primary condition for human progress, and the second condition is perseverence. Perseverence is the continuation of faith. To persevere is to believe; it is to enjoy prematurely the intuition of success." (Merchan, p. 61, 1948)

Areas of Conflict Experienced by Cubans in Dade County

Based on work by Dr. Mercedes Sandoval, "Santería as a Mental Health Care System: An Historical Overview." In Social Science and Medicine, Vol. 13B: 137-151 (1979).

1. "The uniqueness of the time of resettlement also created confusion, feelings of lack of control, frustration and ambivalence in many Cubans. ...The transition from allies, to protégés, to discriminated minorities entailed traumatic adaptation, identity crisis and the acceptance of an imposed leadership. Such 'leadership' was comprised of directors of anti-Castro military units, heads of social agencies and precocious Cubans who manipulated their way into the structure of political parties, (p. 143)."
2. "Differences in residential patterning and work schedules directly affected family life. The dispersed employment pattern and the short lunch break obliterated the traditional, spacious, lunch/family-reunion which had been utilized to chat and share experiences. The extended family suffered a great blow as a result of the exodus from Cuba, when some members permanently stayed on the island. Even though the generous social assistance program prevented much suffering, it weakened the family unit by lifting responsibility for care of the dependent and the ill, (p. 143)."

However, the most damaging conflicts have been caused by the clash of values pertaining to family orientation, sex and age roles.

3. "The role of the father as the breadwinner has been irreparably challenged by a working wife who, in some instances, makes more money than her husband, (p. 143)."

4. "On the other hand, the United States orientation to youth and the future has also unfavorably affected the Cuban family by undermining the authoritarian roles of the parents, which are openly and aggressively challenged by some children, (p. 143)."

5. "Many youngsters who become bilingual more rapidly than their elders obtain better jobs than their parents. Although, at first eager to help the household financially, many later identified with their American counterparts and used their money to buy their own cars, saved it for tuition in out-of-state colleges or, most incredible of all, applied it toward rent for separate residential quarters, (p. 143)."

6. "The elderly, formerly respected for their experience, have lost status and prestige and, in some instances, are set aside in the interest of expediency and change."

7. "The Cubans have also had great difficulties with the American Public School system. They see it as neglecting the teaching of basic skills, incapable of organizing instruction and maintaining discipline...In some instances, the school system is viewed as conspiring against family, country, and God, with too much emphasis on teaching selfish individual rights and failing to teach social responsibilities, (p. 143).

8. "Former prestige indicators such as good family name, good manners, professionalism, and knowledge have been dropped for new ones identifiable by the economic and political elite, i.e. money and power. Consequently, behavior which in Cuba was identified as socially unacceptable and to be found among segments of the poorer and non-educated urban classes is prevalent in Dade County. Examples are excessive loudness, gesticulation and body movement; outlandish overdressing; the abuse of jewelry and cosmetics; expensive partying of doubtful taste; and aggresive familiarity, (p. 143)."

POST-REVOLUTIONARY CUBAN VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Introduction

The following section is an attempt to illustrate the value orientations of post-revolutionary Cuba.' The illustrations are taken from literature which was available to the authors. Because of this, there are limitations of which the reader needs to be made aware.

Much of the literature available contained some degree of propaganda for Castro's and the communist party's social and political philosophy. As such, it cannot be assumed that the examples accurately reflect the social realities and values of all Cubans today. This is especially true for the following groups: the socio-politically dissident Cubans who openly resisted the revolution, the Cubans who publicly gave lip service to revolutionary ideals, but who privately maintained pre-revolutionary values, and those who through less effort at work were able "on ideological grounds to sabotage their government-owned work centers as one vehicle for protesting political oppression" (Szapocznik, 1980a). Despite these limitations, the authors believe this section is important. This belief was strengthened after interviewing Moreno Fraginals, Cuban economist (October 1982) and several adolescents (April 1982) who were part of the Mariel boatlift. The reasons for our conclusions are presented below.

As outside observers of the revolution, it is relatively easy to identify some of the examples that follow as ideals and communist propaganda. For the outside observer, it may seem obvious that the example of Social Reciprocity is imposed by a totalitarian government on subordinates, rather than a process freely chosen by the people. Likewise, an outside observer may also argue that the unequal distribution of privileges and wealth negates the concept of Community Property.

In fact, many post 1980 adult refugees and many adults still in Cuba would agree with these interpretations. This includes adults who experienced and remembered pre-revolutionary Cuba and who realized the totalitarianism of the revolutionary government. Also included would be the adults who fought for the revolution but envisioned a different Cuba than the one which emerged.

However, for many children and adolescents who were born, raised, and educated in post-revolutionary Cuba these interpretations have no meaning. These children never experienced pre-revolutionary society and have no measure by which they can judge the truth of the ideology they were taught in school. They did not fight for the revolution and did not have any preconceptions of an ideal communist society. As a result, they cannot truly understand how the Castro regime has failed to meet the ideal. In short, their reality is Cuba after the revolution. And, like children and adolescents in any society, their experience and knowledge have not yet developed to the point where they are capable of critically evaluating the truth of what they were taught. These are truly the children of the revolution and the future of the continuation of the Communist party in Cuba.

While it is true that the adolescents described above are for the most part in Cuba today, there are a number of these adolescents in the U.S.

These are the children "raised in Castro's Cuba who always heard as they were growing up the evils of American imperialism" (Szapocznik, 1980a). These are the Albertos who were forced to leave Cuba by their families. They are proud to be Communists and long to return to Cuba and a reality they understand and believe in.

It is for this group that the following section was developed. This section, while illustrating post-revolutionary ideology, also represents the rhetoric of the ideal society to which one portion of the post 1980 refugees in this country aspired. While this group may not openly express their values and beliefs, the impact of post-revolutionary ideology on them cannot be ignored.

Value Orientations

Cuba's climate, natural beauty, and special brand of people all contribute to making her unique. Its revolution, too, is different. As Richard Fagen has noted, "both the enemies and friends of the revolution have failed to appreciate how profoundly revolutionary programs have been conditioned and shaped by a series of factors that are peculiarly Cuban, factors which set the island apart, (p. 186)." (Leiner, 1974)

Fagen, Richard R. The transformation of political culture in Cuba. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969.

I. Self

A. Individualism to Interdependence (Interdependence)

1. "It is through work, through a contribution to the life of the society in which he is reflected...that man achieves total awareness of his social being, which is equivalent to his full realization as a human being, (p. 4).." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)

2. "In a Communist society, man will have succeeded in achieving just as much understanding, closeness, and brotherhood as he has on occasion achieved within the narrow circle of his own family. To live in a Communist society is to live without selfishness, to live among the people and with the people, as if everyone of our fellow citizens were really our dearest brother, (p. 16)." (Leiner, 1974)

3. "In the círculos (day care centers), the group rather the individual often takes the central position. For example, there are collective birthday parties at which all the children born in a given month celebrate their birthdays together. Such parties are the custom not only for day-care and kindergarten

children, but for young adults studying to become teachers in Makarenko Institute, (p. 19)." (Leiner, 1974)

4. "Miranda noted during one of our interviews: "we feel that no exceptional child should be singled out. That means that if there is a child with outstanding qualities he should be part of the group, too...We wish not to single out any one child, because it will deform his personality. We try to cultivate modesty. We must develop to the utmost the capabilities of the outstanding child, but we do not wish to make him feel superior to the other children despite the fact that he may indeed be, (p. 19)." (Leiner, 1974)

5. "Encouraged to design activities to stimulate group play, asistentes lead children into social and play patterns to help them develop collective attitudes. Generally, children are not even permitted to play by themselves; asistentes make special efforts to see that all children participate in the program designed for the collective. This concentration on the group rather than the individual in early years is an essential part of the effort to form collective consciousness of the future 'hombre nuevo,' (p. 20)." (Leiner, 1974)

Self: An example of interdependence

María del Carmen by Noel Nicola

Maria del Carmen
denio haber nacido
en Vertientes aqui
hace veinte anos y pico
Maria del Carmen
atraviesa el parque
y todos los ojos
le halan el vestido
Maria del Carmen
revuelve la tarde
del pueblo pequeno
que ve como pasa
Maria del Carmen
el recien llegado
descubre enseguida
lo mucho que suenas.

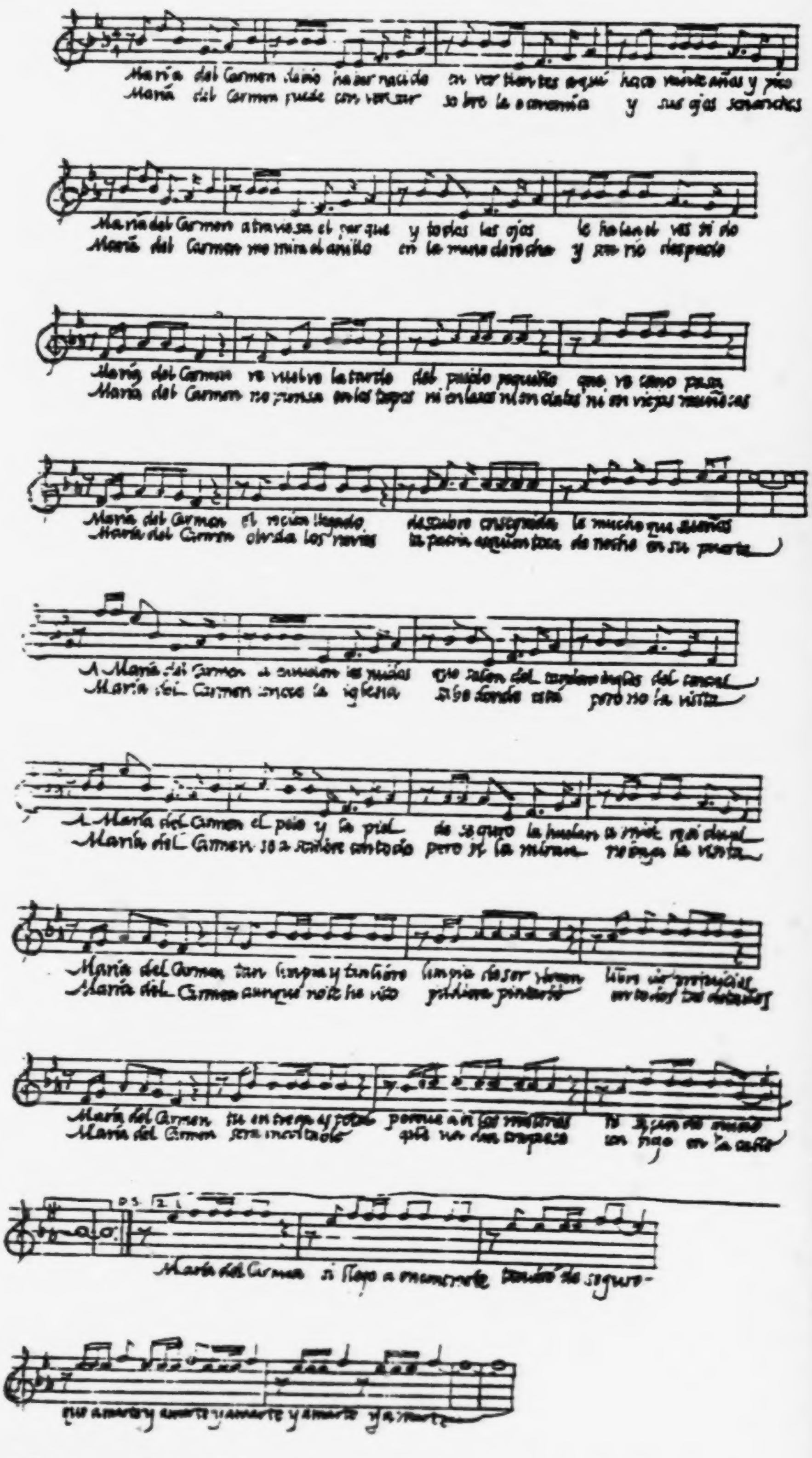
A Maria del Carmen
la envuelven los ruidos
que salen del tandem
ingles del central
A Maria del Carmen
el pelo y la piel
de seguro le huelen
a miel residua.
Maria del Carmen
tan limpia y tan libre
limpia de ser virgen
libre de prejuicios
Maria del Carmen
tu entrega es total.
porque a ti los [illegible]
te sacan de quicio.

Maria del Carmen
puede conversar
sobre la economia
y sus ojos son anchos
Maria del Carmen
me mira el anillo
en la mano derecha
y sonrie despacio
Maria del Carmen
no piensa en los trapos
ni en lazos ni en cintas
ni en viejas munecas
Maria del Carmen
olvida los novios
La patria es quien toca
de noche en su puerta

Maria del Carmen
conoce la iglesia
sabe donde esta
pero no la visita
Maria del Carmen
se asombra con todo
pero si la miran
no baja la vista
Maria del Carmen
aunque no te he visto
pudiera pintarte
en todo tus detalles

Maria del Carmen
sera inevitable
que un dia tropiese
contigo en la calle.

Maria del Carmen
si llego a encontrarte
tendre de seguro
que amarte y amarte y amarte
amarte y amarte y amarte.


María del Carmen denio haber nacido en Vertientes aquí hace veinte años y pico
María del Carmen puede conversar sobre la economía y sus ojos son anchos
María del Carmen atraviesa el parque y todos los ojos le halan el vestido
María del Carmen me mira el anillo en la mano derecha y sonríe despacio
María del Carmen revuelve la tarde del pueblo pequeño que ve como pasa
María del Carmen no piensa en los trapos ni en lazos ni en cintas ni en viejas muñecas
María del Carmen el recién llegado descubre enseguida lo mucho que sueñas
María del Carmen olvida los novios la patria es quien toca de noche en su puerta
A María del Carmen la envuelven los ruidos que salen del tandem inglés del central
María del Carmen conoce la iglesia sabe donde está pero no la visita
A María del Carmen el pelo y la piel de seguro le huelen a miel residual
María del Carmen se asombra con todo pero si la miran no baja la vista
María del Carmen tan limpia y tan libre limpia de ser virgen libre de prejuicios
María del Carmen aunque no te he visto pudiera pintarte en todos tus detalles
María del Carmen tu entrega es total porque a ti los mosquitos te sacan de quicio
María del Carmen será inevitable que un día tropiece contigo en la calle
D.S.
María del Carmen si llego a encontrarte tendré de seguro-
que amarte y amarte y amarte y amarte y amarte

Noel Nicola works with ICAIC, the Cuban film institute, as a member of the Experimental Sound Group. The Group is made up of young Cuban composers and singers who perform together regularly on radio, television, and in concert.

Noel sings of the new Cuban woman, a worker in a cane-cutting brigade. A woman whose hair smells of cane juices, who is free of prejudices, who does not think about clothes or [illegible] or old dolls, or boyfriends. It is the Revolution that knocks on her door each night.

B. Age (Youth)

1. "Children are the future of the revolution. The country has a 'love affair' with them - only the best is desired for every child...everyone dotes on them, (p. 30)." (Steffens, 1974)

2. 1973-1974 45% of the students in the middle schools were on scholarships. In one form or another 168,001 youths were living in some type of collective (day only or boarding). "With this was incorporated a new formative factor: voluntary work ...It is evident that in these circumstances the social and the political function of the family is complemented and always shared since the beginning of the revolution with the agents and methods of the state educational system. This means that the same actors (students) are converted into transmitters of the new values of the revolution in the interior of the family group, and thus, often, sons and daughters will contribute to the modification of erroneous criterion or the creation of a more politicized perspective of the family, (p. 56)." (Perez Rojas, 1979)

C. Self (between equality of the sexes - ideal - and male superiority - reality)

1. "From the very beginning of the revolution, women's struggle for total emancipation has been an integral part of the overall struggle of Cuban society to free itself from the complex web of underdevelopment, dependency and neo-colonialism. Great strides have been made in this struggle. Equal educational opportunities have become a real and uncontested part of the system. Women have been freed from economic dependency on men, (p. 31)." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)

2. (Contrast of ideal with popular values) "A woman in Cuba has the opportunity to study what she wants. A woman in Cuba has almost limitless job opportunities. Yet she must also daily confront the possessive imposition of a dozen men every time she walks down the street. A woman in Cuba is expected to share in Militia duties. Yet a girl is role-oriented in choice of toys or ideas of feminine beauty. A woman in Cuba who cuts more than a million pounds of sugar cane is considered a National Heroine of Labor. Yet a woman in Cuba who has good attitudes in her work place and is very attractive is a likely candidate for the position of Star in the annual Carnival, (p. 3)." (Benglesdorf and Hagemen, 1974)

3. "Girls who prior to the revolution could have hoped to achieve little more than basic literacy skills were incorporated into the educational system at every level, (p. 5)." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)

4. "The harvest of 1969-1970, which resulted in the introduction of so many women to work as volunteers, laid the groundwork for the full liberation of Cuban women, as workers contributing to the social well-being of their whole society, and as persons freed to participate in the world outside the confines of their home and neighborhood, (p. 6)." (Benglesdorf and Hagemen, 1974)

5. (Constrast of ideal with popular values) Victoria Miranda was the first woman in Cuba to cut 100,000 arrobas (2,500,000 pounds) of sugar cane. Her male co-workers point out that her daily rate is double the camp's average...she had received several special awards in recent years, including that of National Heroine of Labor; she takes special pride in her Sixth Grade

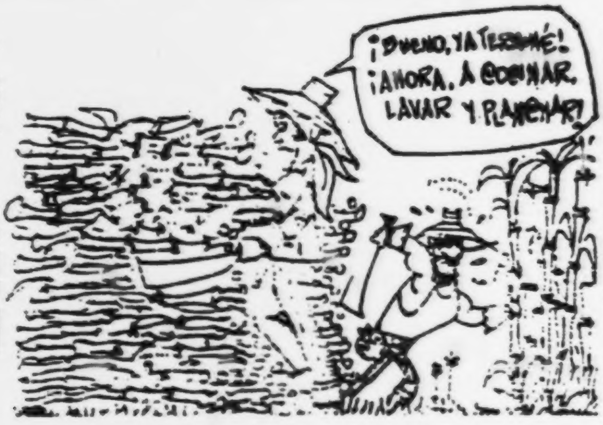
Education Certificate, which she received when she was 31 years old. When she removes her work gloves, she reveals hands with nails evenly cut and covered with pink nail-polish. She responds to an interviewer's look of surprise by saying, "Work shouldn't make us overlook the fact that we're women. I take care of myself. A woman must remain attractive, no matter how hard she works. You know how men are..." (p. 9)." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)

6. (Contrast of ideal with reality) "in a plastic shoe factory near Havana, many women had stopped work; it was found that their main complaint was depression. Their husbands refused to help with the housework, and they were worried about the care their children were receiving, (p. 10)." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)

7. "We believe that when a man and a woman are on a level of full equality, when they are aware of the necessity of sharing and confronting such important social responsibilities as the duty of working and of educating children, the bonds which unite the couple itensify and give love a true and profound meaning, (from the Handbook on Political Orientation) (p. 12)." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)

Self - An example of:

Conflict between old (male superiority) and new ideal. However, this is still closer to the reality.

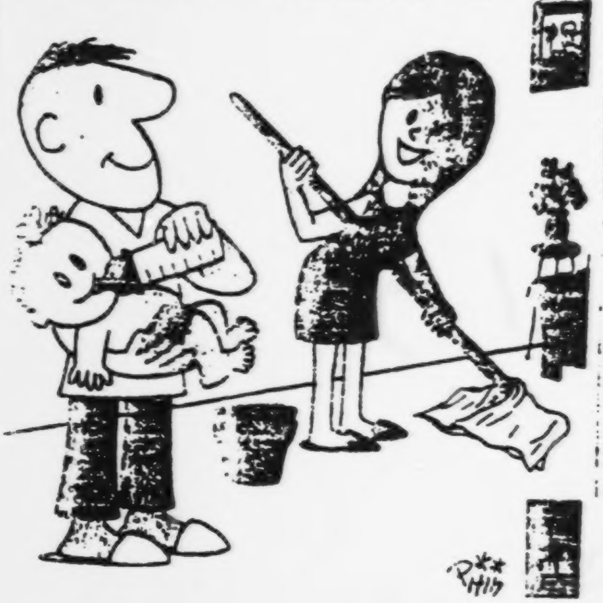

¡BUENO, YA TERMINÉ!
¡AHORA, A COCINAR, LAVAR Y PLANCHAR!

Finished! Now to cook, wash, and iron!

New Ideal, which has still not been achieved.

También en el Hogar

Deberes y Derechos han de Ir Juntos



Also in the House:
Rights and Duties Must Go Hand in Hand

D. Activity (doing)

"Let Them Be Examples...

1. Rosa Castellanos, 'Rosa la Bayamesa' fought with the rebel army in the wars for independence in both 1868 and 1896... The bridge in Camaguey province (was) named in her honor. The Rosa la Bayamesa Brigade was the only all woman brigade in Cuba to cut one million arrobas (25 million pounds of sugar cane in the 1970 harvest.)
2. Julia Lopez Duarte, (a) 33-year-old mother of four,...entered (the) force after doing volunteer work with the FMC (Federation of Cuban Women) (and) represents her factory on a microbrigade, one of 101 women in a construction force of 2,680...working 66 hours a week to help build a new town of Alamar.
3. Trinidad Teheran, 'Trini', (a) 44-year-old restaurant worker ...(and) founder of (the) Maiana Grajales Brigade in Havana province...began cutting cane in 1966...(She) transmits enthusiasm and heroism to (the) whole Brigade...(and was) declared National Heroine of Labor in March 1974 for having cut 50,000 arrobas (1,250,000 pounds) of sugar cane, (p. 21)."

(Robb and Hageman, 1974)

Note: This section also illustrates the concept of equality of the sexes.

II. The Family

A. Relational Orientations (Collateral)

"The extended family pattern remain strong in Cuba. Married couples as well as single and divorced adults often live with their parents. It's not even uncommon to meet married siblings sharing a house.

In some cases people who do not want to live together are forced to by the housing shortage. But often these arrangements are by choice - and they provide an emotional stability and feeling of connection and belonging as well as practical assistance in childcare and household maintenance, (p. 30)." (Steffens, Heidi, 1974)

B. Authority (Authority centered - decisions activites, instructions for family are based on an external structure)

1. The Family Code Legislation: "Among other things, if the draft becomes law without modification, men will be required by law to shoulder 50% of the housework and childcare when women work...The sense of the new Code rests entirely on the part of the parents for their children. The family nucleus as we know it is in fact strengthened, but its private property ...aspects are largely removed, (p. 31)." (Randall, 1974)

2. "The Cubans, believing that stable, informed families offer one of the best routes toward healthy, productive children, have made an intense effort to strengthen and educate the family. (p. 150) From the start, the Cuban day-care movement encouraged close family-school relations to 'unify the educational criteria and continue along a single path, thus avoiding a duality of directions for the child.' The círculos (day care center) continually increased their educational role among parents, giving practical and theoretical structure to childhood development and methods of child rearing, (p. 151)." (Leiner, 1974)

C. Postitional Role Behavior (General to specific - specific rights and obligations as determined by sex and age, set form of conduct and duties)

"The greatest offense that can be committed against a human being and against society, the gravest offense that a mother or a father can commit, is to permit his child not to attend school. It will not be the law, it will not be the coercive force of the state, but, rather, social conscience that imposes on each citizen the idea that he cannot commit the crime of creating an ignoramus or of bringing an ignoramus into the world, (p. 150)." (Leiner, 1974)

III. Society

A. Social Reciprocity (Symmetrical-obligatory)

"The 'circle' game prevails as the group activity by which cooperation and group, rather than individual orientations is encouraged. With a child or an adult in the center, toddlers learn how to bounce a rubber ball from one to the next, and preschoolers learn songs together. At the infant level, corrals (large playpens which accommodate at least six children) encourage peer interaction and collective consciousness. Many círculos (day care centers) maintain vegetable gardens, nurtured by brigades of four and five-year-olds who cooperatively plant, water, tend, and eventually enjoy their crops, (p. 33)." (Hopkins, 1974)

B. Property (Community)

1. "(We) should not use money or wealth to create political awareness. To offer a man more to do his duty is to buy his conscience with money. To give a man participation in more collective wealth because he does his duty and produces more and creates more for society is to turn political awareness into wealth...(C)ommunism, certainly cannot be established if we

do not create abundant wealth. But the way to do this, in our opinion, is not by creating political awareness with money or with wealth, but by creating more and more collective wealth with more collective political awareness. Fidel Castro (July 26, 1968), (p. 5)." (Benglesdorf and Locker, 1974)

2. "By 1968 conditions had changed. The internal and foreign enemies of the Revolution were on the defensive. During that year the government nationalized all remaining small private businessmen, (p. 5)." (Benglesdorf and Locker, 1974)

IV. Human Nature

A. Rationality (Rationality - ideal)

"The new Cuban man will be: a healthy individual, with a new attitude toward work which will allow him to identify it with the pleasure of creation and social duty rather than with a salary; a man capable of joining in solidarity with all men who suffer exploitation, regardless of where they were born; a man who will arrive at these convictions through his own reasoning and who can adjust to discipline for identical reasons, (p. 18)." (Leiner, 1974)

B. Good and Evil (Good - ideal)

"The conceptual framework of Cuba's hombre nuevo (new man) is the humanistic ideal, and its source is Marxist ideology. Marx offers the view that man is essentially a free creative spirit with powers that enable him to produce for the sheer pleasure of doing so. In agreeing with Marx, Castro believes that once work is no longer an exploitative function, it will become an artistic creation, (p. 17)." (Leiner, 1974)

C. Mutability (Change, growth, learning - ideal)

1. "The Cubans hold to a fundamental belief, that human beings can realize themselves only through work, creative and productive, only through using and developing the capacities which lie within them, (p. 3)." (Benglesdorf and Hageman, 1974)
2. "The primary goal of the revolution as articulated by Fidel Castro is the creation of the Cuban man -- a fundamentally humanistic, alturistic concept of the human being, which combines classical Marxism, collective consciousness, and the view that people are perfectible beings, (p. 16)." (Leiner, 1974)
3. "Cuban educators believe they can develop a new consciousness among nursery-school children. By weaving into the curriculum and the everyday classroom life such concepts and behavioral patterns as sharing, respect for work, responsibility, modesty, and self-discipline, Cuban educators feel they can assist in the creation of the new Cuban man, (p. 21)." (Leiner, 1974)

V. Nature

A. Ways of Knowing Nature (Circle of induction-deduction)

"We want the preschool-age child to receive an explanation for every question and that such an explanation to be both truthful and on his level of comprehension. Naturally, the personnel must be trained in the fundamental concepts of many things: mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. We want certain basic concepts well understood by our day-care personnel and we want them to know how to explain what they know to the children. When a child wants to know why a shower has water and where it comes from, the women should know enough about it to explain it simply...In other words, we don't want the children to be miseducated by superstition, old wives' tales, or fantasy in place of fact. We want our children to be inquisitive, to be acquainted with nature from the moment they ask their first question, (p. 179)." (Leiner, 1974)

B. Concept of Time (Future - ideal)

1. "I don't think our objectives have changed. The objectives have been extended, enriched, and clarified as a result of our experiences. The objectives for us are very clear: we want to attain a society that satisfies all of the material needs - the conscience of men, (p. 186)." (Leiner, 1974)

2. "In his 1970 July 26th report, Fidel called for strengthening the mass organizations and collectivizing and democratizing the structure of governmental decision-making. This did not mean a headlong rush to reorganize and democratize -- the process had to advance gradually and systematically and, most importantly, be tested through practice. Setting aside the theory of simultaneous transformation did not mean abandoning the revolution's original goal of creating a new human being under communism. This goal was now to be achieved through stages with each stage resting on the completion of the one before it, (p. 6)." (Benglesdorf and Locker, 1974b)

VI. The Supernatural

A. Meaning of Life (Intellectual - ideal)

"Castro asserts that the meaning of the Cuban revolution is in releasing man's spiritual energy in a society where he will be able to cultivate the life of the mind and exercise his creative abilities freely in his work. At the end of a day's work, the Cuban citizen will devote his leisure to the pursuit of cultural and scientific activities...the new man is motivated by a sense of solidarity and brotherhood among men; he finds fulfillment in his work and respects work as being worthwhile in and of itself, (p. 17)." (Leiner, 1974)

B. Providence (Balance of Good and Misfortune)

"We have to pursue the social consciousness of our people simultaneously with our struggle against underdevelopment. We want men who feel themselves part of humanity, who are prepared to struggle to achieve the well-being of all men, who suffer with the suffering of other people and rejoice in their good fortune. Naturally, the objective is one thing and experience itself is at times, another. By that I mean, we're always going to face practical problems in achieving our aims, (p. 186)." (Leiner, 1974)

Another Point of View: The Refugee Experience

1. "Would it be a dislocating experience, if in the dead of night, the police came to your house, and without an explanation took you from your family, placed you in a boat, sent you to a foreign country under the most dangerous of seafaring circumstances? Then, arriving amidst the "huddled masses", you were flown to a far off detention facility where you lost all of your civil rights and stayed in detention for months?"

   "How about the 60,000 persons who lived in terror in the Cuban refugee detention centers or camps? Have they been traumatized by the camp experience? What was it like for decent folks to be thrown in with criminals without any protection? Has this experience scarred these Cubans? Will they ever forget the terror of those nights at the camp at the mercy of a few criminals?"

   "Particularly relevant to the young -- what are the implications of political cultural norms to personality development? What are the personalities of young adults who have grown in a system that discourages individualism and free speech and that encourages placing country and communism over self, friends and relatives? Or of young adults who have grown away from families in politically oriented peer support systems."

   (p. 8, Szapoczik, José, March 1981)

2. Imagine being forced to immigrate to another country where your language is not spoken, where you will automatically become a member of a minority group within that society. While experiencing loss of friends, possessions, and country you must also learn to cope with a "new, unkown, and not too well understood environment, and a lack of social support systems,

(p. 9)." (Hispanic Research Center, 1979) How would you respond?

3. Stigma: A "Mariel Refugee"

The boatlift has come to be associated with strong negative attitudes in this country...It is important to separate the people from the process which brought them to this country. Stigmatization produces a psychological impact. Those who are stigmatized and stereotyped suffer in their self-concept and self-esteem...Because of the stigma, even those who are most deserving in the group have so far failed to receive the social, community and even governmental support that they will need to achieve successful adjustment to our communities, (p. 3)." (Spencer, et al., 1980)

Relevant Characteristics of New Cuban Immigrants

(Spencer, et al., 1981, p. 5-6)

1. Their "culture is different from that of Cubans who have been here longer."
2. "We find that some of these Cubans tend to be very present oriented. Such a time orientation makes it difficult to motivate them on the basis of long-term goals, and thus immediate reinforcement may have to be built into treatment plans."
3. "These Cubans are accustomed to very small personal spaces. This..could become particularly troublesome in intercultural contacts, particularly with Anglo populations that demand greater interpersonal distance."
4. "This group appears to be highly resourceful. This is an asset which facilitates adjustment. But, for some, resourcefulness can be associated with manipulativeness, which may become an impediment to effective treatment. It must be noted that both resourcefulness and manipulativeness have become life-saving survival skills in Cuba."
5. There is "a tremendous eagerness to relate interpersonally. Many tend to come across as emotionally intense individuals. Emotional attachments are highly valued."
6. "In clear contrast to the 1960's Cuban refugees, who were traditionally lineal with considerable allegiance to the family and respect for authority. In particular, some of the youth and young adults, rather than seeking lineal relations like the pre-Mariel Cubans, seek collateral or peer-oriented relations.

   It is interesting to consider the implications that the change from lineality to collaterality in relationship style may have for this population.
7. "Whereas Cubans from previous waves were likely to prefer organizing into extended family support systems, the 1980 Cubans may feel more

comfortable with block and community-level systems of support which are comprised primarily of peers, very similar to the social organizations fostered by the political system in Cuba in the last twenty years."

8. Among these refugees there are two main groups, "a marginal population and a socio-politically dissident population...The dissident group... may be the most psychologically resilient group...These individuals can be helped considerably...by our mental health professionals." The marginal group is "psychologically similar to marginal groups in our country, those who have not participated in the power structure or shared in the benefits of our society."

9. "Rebelliousness toward authority becomes a distinguishing feature between dissident and marginal populations. Political dissidents learned to conceptualize their anti-government activities as political dissidence. ...On the other hand, marginal populations may have not conceptualized their discontent, and are thus more likely to have internalized their rebelliousness. These marginal populations may have greater difficulty in changing their behavior in this regard."

10. "Because organized religion is openly opposed by the Cuban government, alternate belief systems such as Santería and Espiritismo appear to have become far more popular...From a mental health perspective, these alternate belief systems can become a critical ingredient of mental health service delivery." (Spencer, et al., 1981, p. 7)

Problems with which the Refugees will have to deal

1. Relocation and culture shock
2. The stigma of being part of the Mariel Boatlift
3. Lack of an appropriate support system in the community
4. "Lack of the intercultural skills and knowledge of the American system" necessary to negotiate their way into this society
5. Lack of knowledge of the English language
6. Social isolation and loneliness
7. Loss of country
8. Loss of social status
9. The emergence of intergenerational acculturational differences

Responses to the Stresses Related to Migration

1. "General responses by refugees may include a sense of anomie, a feeling of being lost, a depressive sense of not knowing where to turn or what to do next, the anxiety that results from lack of sufficient structure or direction, the guilt of having left loved ones behind, and in extreme cases, psychological disorientation as the individual can no longer cope with the complexities and uncertainties of the new environment, (p. 7)." (Szapocznik, José, March 1981)

2. Five clinical syndromes appear to be represented in the population of 700 unaccompanied minors in one refugee camp...over 50% of this group reported having been forced by the government to leave the island...The most common of these syndromes involved behavioral problems and was most typical of youths who had been forced to leave the island. These individuals tended to have discontinued school and presented a history of acting out...The second most common syndrome was a depressive nature. Approximately one third of the minors we served manifested severe depressions and more than half of these presented suicidal ideation or gestures ...We found that suicidal gestures were frequently found among youths who had spent some time in jail. It should be noted, however, that crimes committed included political dissension and stealing food for survival reasons...Three other syndromes were found less frequently. One of these can be identified as developmental delay problems,...Another syndrome appeared to be strictly reactive to the present condition and was primarily characterized by frustration and sadness. The final syndrome identified had features of reality impairment in that it included reports of hallucinations and delusions, (p. 7)." (Szapocznik, José, March 1981)

Note: Szapocznik feels that these syndromes may be helpful in understanding some of the more difficult groups which came in the 1980 Cuban refugee wave.

3. "Adaptation to America has required the development of new styles of living that are faster, more impersonal and individualistic. The rapid rate of change has caused dislocation for those who have not been able to adapt or for those who have adapted too fast...the young may have rushed into assimilation, cutting off their roots and cultural heritage and as a result have suffered high rates of psychosocial disruption and psychological adjustment problems." (Szapocznik, 1979, p. 2)

SANTERIA

General Considerations

Dr. Szapocznik, in his work with post-1980 Cuban refugees, has found that "this group's spiritual belief system needs to be discussed" in developing service programs. "Because organized religion was openly opposed by the Cuban government, alternative belief systems such as Santería and Espiritismo appear to have become far more popular than they ever had been. From a mental health perspective...these alternative belief systems can become a critical ingredient of mental health service delivery...alternative belief systems become important in differential diagnosis of some patients, (p. 6)." (Szapocznik, 1981)

Santería is described by Dr. Mercedes Sandoval (1979) as "an Afro-Cuban religious system which has an essentially African world view and rituals, (p. 137)." "Santería is the product of an identification between the gods of the slaves and the Catholic saints of their masters. Even though various African influences as well as European spiritist beliefs and practices intervened in Santería, the Yoruba dogma (from Yorubaland), theological content and rituals are predominant. Santería is characterized by its lack of homogeneity. It is not a religion governed by a narrow and strict orthodoxy. On the contrary, each santero (priest) subjectively interprets the beliefs and frequently intoduces variations in the rituals and mythology according to his own knowledge, religious experience, convictions, and the needs of his followers. We could very well say that Santería as an abstraction is derived from many different local cults which share one common denominator which is the worship of the oricha/santo (god/saint), (p. 138)."

"Santería...has taken root in several areas of the United States, primarily in Florida, New York, New Jersey, and California. This Afro-Cuban religious system has an essentially African view and rituals. It has not only survived the impact of acculturation, but has expanded its influence...In its continuing adaptation, Santería today has the potential to become a collaborating institution which can handle matters of the soul: while the orthodox health care system deals with matters of the mind. There is no conflict between the two in the eyes of either santeros/priests or clients, (p. 137)." (Sandoval, 1979)

Santería Defined Axiologically

I. Human Nature

A. Rationality (Intuitive)

"Santeros diagnose disease and prescribe treatment by means of various divination systems, their own intuition and former successful experiences of other healers. "I, myself, diagnose through the caracoles (shells). But some of us have something with which we are born, that tells us spiritually or mentally what the needs of the clients are and what has to be done with the client...Yes, I do think I have a lot of intuition...In many instances people who come with similar conditions or symptoms have to be treated differently. There is not just one way...when a particular treatment fails, I might remember something taught by an old santero when I was very young. Then I know that mentally I am being told to treat this and the other, (p. 147)."

B. Good and Evil (Mixture of good and evil)

1. Eleggua, messenger of the gods, "seems to be the personification of fate, not in the sense of fatalism, but as both hope and hopelessness. He has been identified with the Holy Child of Atocha and with the Lonely Soul of Purgatory which is always requesting and demanding prayers and offerings in return for favors. Echu, one of the roads or advocations of Eleggua, personifies the forces of evil and is used in witchcraft and sorcery. He is the Afro-Cuban 'Devil', (p. 139)." (Sandoval, 1979)

2. "In Santería, the Guardian Angel receives a great deal of attention and reverence. It seems to be very susceptible to

both benevolent and malevolent influences of other supernatural beings and processes. It is regularly fed by each initiate to insure that it remains strong. It must not be disappointed, weakened or angered lest it become unable or unwilling to protect its protegee. When it is well cared for, it offers benefience and protection in return, (p. 140)." (Sandoval, 1979)

3. "There are numerous necklaces, braclets and other objects which the santeros give their initiates and clients as protections against all types of evil and as strengtheners to ensure their well-being, (p. 140)." (Sandoval, 1979)

VI. The Supernatural

A. Relationship of Man and the Supernatural (Pantheism)

1. "Thus, Syncretism worked in two directions: The assimilation of other African divinities by the generic Yoruba gods and the identification of the latter with Catholic saints. The Afro-Cuban pantheon is quite reduced in number, with the heavenly court consisting of the supreme god Olodumare-Olorun-Olofin, the orchas/santos beneath him, the spirits of the dead next in rank, and finally, at the lowest stratum, the animistic talismans, charms, etc., (p. 138)." (Sandoval, 1979)

2. Below is a list of the santos which are described by Sandoval (1979):

Olodumare-Olofi - creator of the universe, "the one god who has always existed and will exist forever, (p. 138)."

Olodumare's oldest son - Obatala - King of orichas. Orchias are "very earthly" divinities who have human forms as well as emotions, virtues and vices, (p. 138)."

Obatala - "completed the creation of the planet and is in charge of keeping peace and order, harmony and justice on earth as well as among the restless and all-too-human orichas, (p. 138)." He is known for his healing powers and is the owner of hospitals.

Orunmila - represents legality and formness. "He is the god of wisdom and the most intellectual of all the orichas, (p. 138)." In Cuba he came to be identified with Saint Francis of Assisi. "This intellectual god punishes his victims by causing them all types of mental disorders, (p. 139)."

Eleggua - the messenger of the gods, his omnipresence, his constant activity and the fact that he interferes continually in all human and divine affairs make him feared and respected by all.

Oba - goddess identified with Saint Catherine of Siena, protector of the home. "Some santeros say she rules over the bones and cures arthritis and forms of paralysis which prevent walking, (p. 139)."

Oya - goddess of lightening, of the bad ill-wind and tornadoes. "She is most dreaded and respected because she has a terrible temper and is the owner of the cemetary and thus controls death. When a person is very sick he has to merit special favor from her, (p. 139)."

Ochun - the most popular of the female orchias. "She is the goddess of love, of honey, and all sweet things, and in Cuba, the sole owner of the river...She has become identified with the virgin of charity, the Catholic patronness of Cuba, (139)." She can help cure diseases of the genitals and the lower abdomen.

Yemaya - owner of the upper levels of the ocean. Protects sailors and fishermen. "She rules over the intestines; also, when angered, she can cause tuberculosis. Consequently, intestinal disorders and tuberculosis are ailments she can easily cure. According to some santeros it is she who can best cure madness.

Babalu-Aye - one of the most feared, "the god of small-pox, syphilis, gangrene, skin ailments, leprosy, and other infectious diseases...He is identified with Saint Lazarus ...Santería believers see him as a pious, merciful, miraculous healer who is inclined to forgiveness and goodness but who can punish by causing the diseases that he controls and cures, (p. 139)."

Osain - owner of wild plants, flowers, herbs, twigs, and leaves. He became identified with Saint Sylvester. "Santería followers believe in the magical and medicinal properties," (p. 139) of the wild flora he owns.

Ochosi - a hunter, a physician and a diviner. "He is identified with Saint Norberto. To the horror of senior santeros, his cult in Miami enjoys a great appeal among people in occupations of considerable risk, i.e. drug pushers, thieves and prostitutes. He is the owner of traps and therefore jails, thus, he should be propitiated to avoid incarceration and/or to expedite the release process, (p. 139)."

Orisha Oko-god of horticulture who settles disputes among the orichas, "is identified with Saint Isidro."

Aganyu Sola-the patron of porters, "one of the most powerful gods in the Afro-Cuban pantheon, became identified with Saint Christopher, who was the porter of Baby Jesus.

B. Meaning of Life (Spiritual Gods)

1. "Among the Yoruba there is the belief that God created man in two parts, the being here on earth and the spiritual double of Eleda in heaven. Each individual makes a contract with his Eleda before he is born, in which plans for life on earth are designed. He then embraces the tree of forgetfulness and is born. If he lives according to the heavenly contract, the Eleda will protect him; but if he does not act according to the plan, the Eleda will turn against him and harm himm (p. 140)." (Sandoval, 1979)

2. "Basic is the belief in the dual nature of man: body and soul. The latter is seen as being susceptible to supernatural processes which affect it directly and the body indirectly...even though physical complaints should be diagnosed and treated by a physician, the santero's assistance also should be sought so that he can neutralize and, in some instances, rally supernatural power in support of the patient, (p. 145)."

Mental Health Care and Santería

Based on Sandoval, Mercedes. "Santería as a Mental Health Care System: An Historical Overview." Social Science and Medicine, VoL 13B: 137-151. (1979)

"Cubans in Dade County suffer from feelings of ambivalence, lack of control, confused identity, lack of purpose and direction. For many of them Santería offers aspects of the support and help they seek, (p. 144)."

"In considering the mental health function of Santería in Dade County, it is important to realize that in pre-Castro Cuba psychiatrists primarily treated institutionalized patients while psychologists and counselors were practically unknown and inaccessible to the majority of the population. Thus, the bulk of people in Cuba who had emotional problems received medication from general practitioners and support from their family, friends and various religious organizations.

At the dawn of the Castro era, however, when feelings of uncertainty, danger, and fear increased during the process of losing a former way of life, many people in Cuba resorted to various types of religious support, including Santería. They hoped, through magic, to gain a sense of control in a devastating situation they felt powerless to change, (p. 144)."

"As feelings of powerlessness accompanied their transplantation to a new country certain conditions occurred simultaneously which made Santería more attractive to previously disinterested persons. The diminished solidarity of the extended family and more limited roles of supportive friendships are but two examples, (p. 144)."

"The key to its (Santería) success, however, appears to lie in the Afro-Cuban cosmology which helps to explain reduced coping ability and to rationalize feelings of loss of control.

Feelings of powerlessness usually accompany cultural change of revolutionary proportions, whether it be coercive (as in Cuba) or circumstantial (as in the United States). Nevertheless, this is far too sterile an explanation for a people exposed to the complex historical processes and cultural beliefs, of those who follow Santería. In a world perceived to some extent in magical, animistic and personalistic terms, there can be no meaningful explanation for reduced coping ability or misfortune which does not take such a world view into account. Nor can there be an enduring relief from personal problems which does not remedy the basic causes as determined within that world view. Such is the function of Santería, (p. 144)."

Psychological Functions of Santería

1. Reduces feelings of despondency and powerlessness: "The Catholic saints have abandoned us. One only has to see that the world is upside-down and full of evil. Even though the Catholic saints are closer to God, they are too good and one needs protection (of the santos) to survive, (p. 145)."
2. Gives protection in a world of chaos: "Goodness exists, but evilness abounds more. Even Olofi, Santería's supreme being, identified with God, is different from its Catholic counterpart. In Catholic churches the cross is simple; while in Santería it has its resguardos (projections), (p. 145)."
3. "In an amoral, materialistic, present-oriented society, gods which are conceptualized in pragmatic terms are seen as more real and efficient than sublime deities, (p. 145)."

   "The santos can do good and evil. The santeros manipulate them for both good and evil. The santos are just like people. They can do good and bad things...Heaven and Hell are right here in this world, and what I need is protection against evil...Spiritists lose a lot of time talking to the spirits and trying to convince them to get enlightened and to cease doing harm. Santeros are efficient. They measure (spirits) and call them up and get rid of them, (p. 145)."
4. Helps people cope by the creation of "reciprocal alliances with powerful, manipulative and manipulatable gods...contributes so importantly to an improved sense of mastery, (p. 145)."

   The Catholic saints belong to everybody. They have to help everybody; while my Eleggua is mine. He only responds to me...One can speak to the Catholic saints, but they don't let you control them. Santería saints can be controlled and catered to with offerings and presents; then they respond to you.

5. Reduces uncertainty: "When I am at a crossroad and...don't know what decisions to make, I go to the santero so that he can ask the santos their counsel. Whatever they say, I know is the best alternative, (p. 145)."

6. Increases control over oneself and reduces influence of harmful supernatural forces: "I tried to get a job for many months and couldn't hold one for more than a week. When I came to see the santero I found out that there was a spirit sent by an enemy, that didn't let me keep the jobs. He made me nervous so that the foreman would be antagonized by me. After we made some sacrifices and the santero was convinced that I was clean (cleansed of evil influences) I managed to secure a job that I have held for more than one year, (p. 145)."

7. Alleviates certain conditions such as "depression; decaimientos (conditions related to tired blood); descensos (fainting spells); barrenillos (obsession); hypochondria, i.e. people who think they have any disease with which they come in contact; and phobias or unreasonable fears, (p. 146)." Also protects against evil eye "perpetrated by another person who might not have intentionally attempted to cause harm, (p. 146);" and witchcraft and sorcery.

Conclusions and Implications for Mental Health Care

1. "Apparently Santería clients don't seem to feel any discomfort or dissonance in being treated by both santeros and mental health professionals, (p. 147)." (Sandoval, 1979)

   "Both the social worker and the santera help me to solve my personal problems. The social worker is a person just like me, but two brains think more than one. The social worker knows how to control me so that I will control myself. She works with my mind; she is like my physician. She works inside of me mentally...My santera makes available to me a strength and power which is greater than me. She gives me faith and opens the roads (to good fortune in the future). She gives me firmness and security that I can do things...My santera works with my spirit. She controls the invisible spirits which get attached to me and cause evilness and (also) well-being, (p. 147)." (Sandoval, 1979)

2. "Santería offers a congenial-meaning structure for people who have been subjected to political, economic, and social changes beyond their control and among whom fortune or misfortune appear to be more related to the caprice of the spirits than to their own behaviorial initiatives, (p. 147)."

3. "Other therapies might not be so effective, particularly those developed among and for people reared in democratic families and school systems and whose historical continuity, although challenged by intrinsic changes, has not yet been viewed as specifically evil in design and effects, (p. 148)." (Sandoval, 1979)

   "Since such 'democratic' therapies specifically entail personality growth, i.e. 'maturity' over and above success or good fortune, they do not address basic problems pertaining to survival. For many Cubans personality growth is an alien concept; they view character and personality as being fixed or structured from birth, (p. 148)."

"In comparison, Santería, through states of trance-possession, enables clients to act out their problems or to have them acted out by the santero in a manner which is non-threatening to people for whom denial appears to be a most important defense mechanism, (p. 148)." (Sandoval, 1979)

4. "It is the author's (Sandoval) opinion that as long as some people believe that there is a soul (independent from mind and psyche) which survives death and is influenced in this by other-wordly souls, they will continue to seek the help of Santería and other such cult organizations when in distress, (p. 148)." (Sandoval, 1979)

"If this assumption is correct, some knowledge of the patient's own view of his problem is important to medical health professionals. Such knowledge in and of itself provides new options for patient care. In fact, it might be advantageous for orthodox practitioners to build upon the clues provided by patients who seek help from both systems. It may be opportune for orthodox health professionals to acknowledge that health levels may be raised more successfully by recognizing religious healers' expertise in caring for the soul while the orthodox practitioners tend to the body and the mind, (p. 148)." (Sandoval, 1979)

V. FACTORS AFFECTING CROSS-CULTURAL COUNSELING

INTRODUCTION

Cross-cultural counseling involves a complex interaction between the counselor and the client. This process is complicated even further when the medium of communication is not the client's native language; for example, when the counseling session is conducted in English and the client's native language is Spanish.

Besides language, other factors contribute to the complexity of developing a successful cross-cultural counseling relationship. These include transference from the counselor to the client. In both instances the reaction to the other person is based on past experience with members of the other person's cultural and ethnic group rather than being based on a reaction to that individual. Other significant factors include differences in expectations and perceptions about the counseling process. These are based in part on the different values systems and assumptions which each person brings to the counseling relationship.

The following section presents a discussion of the factors which can prevent the establishment of a successful cross-cultural relationship. The discussion is based on research in counseling and linguistic theory. Whenever possible, specific examples will be given which relate the factors to the counseling of recent Cuban refugees and Cuban-Americans.

LANGUAGE

The Concept

Language is the primary medium through which we communicate with other human beings. It is through language, in the form of thoughtful reflection, that man forms his/her concept of self. This concept is based on interaction with and personal interpretation of the environment-culture, people and their behavior, as well as the physical world. Thus, language is the glue bonding man to other people, to his culture and to his concept of self.

Language, however, is not fixed and universal. It is an arbitrary sound system which conveys meaning and attempts to organize the elements of the world, the environment, and human behavior (Bolinger, 1968, p. 3). In fact, each culture selects from an infinite number of combinations the phonemes, morphemes, and syntax which it will use to organize "the real world." To maintain this organization and in reality to maintain the culture, the transmission of the language to all members of the society is necessary.

Ironically, the very fact that language exists forces each human being into a cultural and linguistic mold, established at birth, that greatly limits the ways in which he/she can interpret and interact with the world. In fact, even if a person were to learn 30 of the more than 3,000 languages, not to mention dialects, that exist, he/she would only possess a fraction of the infinite possibilities for viewing, organizing and interpreting the world.

Implications for Cross-Cultural Counseling

The purpose of the preceding paragraphs was to present some concepts about language which the reader may not have thought of before. These concepts have important implications for cross-cultural counseling.

First, the counselor needs to be aware of the fact that language is an integral part of self. Language is the primary medium through which self is defined and communicated. As a result, a counseling situation that requires the client to use a language other than his/her native language forces the client to give up a part of self. This can be both threatening and frustrating to some clients; especially those who are aware of their limitations and their inability to communicate and express their feelings and emotions in the second language.

Second, although the languages of the counselor and the client may have linguistic or surface similarities, i.e. sound system and grammar, it is important to remember that no two languages organize and explain the world in exactly the same way. By focusing on the similarities, an illusion of communication may be created and the counselor and client may fail to realize the deeper meanings and interpretations which each was attempting to convey.

Thus, the importance of language in counseling cannot be over emphasized. It is through language that rapport is established between a counselor and a client. When the client and counselor are from the same language or dialect group and share similar behaviors and cultural values and expectations, language facilitates and can strengthen the counseling relationship. However, if the client and counselor do not share these characteristics, language can become a primary deterrent to successful counseling. (Vontress, 1974)

Language, in fact, is the medium through which counseling takes place. As Vontress (1969) points out "counselors hardly consider their counseling interviews successful unless their clients verbalize their feelings fluently." However, if a client lacks the ability to "communicate in abstractions and words that not only convey motivations, and transmit, modify and refine feeling" (Vontress, 1969) the development of a successful counseling relationship is difficult. This difficulty will be due in part to the preconceptions the counselor and client have concerning the type of verbal behavior which is expected and appropriate in the counseling situation.

Ideally, when dealing with clients from another linguistic group, the counselor should know the language or dialect of the client. (Vontress, 1974) In this way, the counselor could provide the option of communicating in the client's native language.

Realistically, the cross-cultural counselor should be aware of the possible limitations of conducting the interview in a language in which the client is not fluent. With this awareness, the counselor can then change his/her techniques to meet the linguistic competence of the client. Through the use of different questioning techniques, such as the rephrasing and repeating of questions, the counselor can demonstrate a genuine desire to communicate with the client. The result of this could be the development of rapport and a successful counseling relationship.

Its Social Functions and Their Effect on Counseling

Linguistic fluency, or extensive knowledge of vocabulary and the structure of the language (English) is not the only fluency which a client must have. The client must also be aware of, if not fluent in, the social functions of the language. Termed the implicit level of language by Vontress (1974), these functions include the following: 1) the phatic function through which bonds are formed between speakers and through which feedback about the level of communication is received; 2) the expressive function which allows for aesthetic expression through language; and 3) the symbolic function which technically establishes the boundaries between the in group and the out group. (Burns, 1981) Of the three, the phatic function and its elements are of initial importance for both the client and the multicultural counselor.

At the basic level the phatic function includes the initial chain of speech between two people - the introduction, deciding who is going to talk, and ending the conversation. Through this process a definite social bond is established. Yet mere knowledge of vocabulary and grammatical structures will not guarantee that a client will be able to function at the phatic level of communication.

Although competent grammatically and fluent in vocabulary, a client manipulating the language superficially can create an illusion of communicative competence which does not exist. He/she may be totally unaware of the subtle phatic cues which the counselor is giving. The result, in this case, is often miscommunication and a failure to establish the necessary phatic bond. Unless the counselor is aware of the phatic function of language, he/she may be unable to illicit the information needed to understand the problem and to help the client resolve his/her conflicts.

An implication which this has for counselors would be the development of a questioning technique which would give the counselor immediate feedback concerning the phatic level of competence at which the client is operating. Aspects which might be considered in the technique would be a client's interpretation of statements intended to illicit more information: for example, "You must have felt very frustrated in that situation." A linguistically competent client would interpret the intonation of the statement and would respond by giving more information and clarifying his feelings. A client with an inadequate knowledge of the phatic aspects of the language could easily interpret that sentence as the end of the conversation.

An article which indirectly addresses the basic roles of speakers in initial phatic interaction is Taking the Initiative: Some Pedagogical Applications of Discourse Analysis by M. Gramnno (ED 181739, 1978). It focuses on two problems, the interactive roles which a person may have in verbal interactions and the social rules which govern or influence verbal communication. Both of these areas must be developed by the client if he/she is to competently function at the phatic level of language communication. By being aware of these basic roles and social rules the multicultural counselor would be better able to interpret the level of phatic responses being illicited, and adapt the counseling and questioning techniques to the level of the client.

One further point must be made. The phatic function is common to all languages. As a result, the client is bringing to the counseling relationship the phatic rules and roles of his/her native language. Ideally, the counselor should be aware of these rules and roles of the client's language since the counselor could, unconsciously, be sending a phatic message which is the very opposite of the one which he/she wants to estalish.

SOCIAL GROUP OF THE CLIENT

One of the first things a counselor needs to do is determine what group a client is from and what characteristics of that group would be essential in helping to understand the client's world view. For counselors working with Cuban clients, it is not enough to say my client is Cuban. The counselor, in fact, needs to determine what subgroup the client is from. Below is a brief description of relevant Cuban/Cuban-American groups which the authors have identified based on readings and interviews, April 1982, with pre- and post-1980 Cubans.

Cuban Groups

The first group consists of Cubans who came to the U.S. from 1960 to 1979. Initially, members of this group believed they would return to Cuba once Castro was defeated. Influenced by this belief, Cuban exiles created a strong Hispanic community and remained "proud of their heritage, and actively struggled to keep their identity. The possibility of becoming Cuban-Americans, however, is much more evident (for this group) today, since 20 years of exile have eroded many Cubans' hopes of returning to the island." (Greco and McDavis, 1978).

Included in this first group are Cubans who lived in post-revolutionary Cuba a relatively long time - 10 or more years. This group was influenced to some degree by changes brought about by the revolution. Both of these groups have been in contact with and impacted by American culture. The extent is of the first things that a counselor must determine.

A second group are the Cuban exiles who settled in other countries before coming to the U.S. This group brings to the counseling relationship the culture of Cuba, the culture of their first country of exile, and whatever impact the culture of the U.S. has had on them.

The third group consists of the post-1980 refugees who have had more limited impact by the American culture. In this group especially are children and adolescents who were raised and attended school in post-revolutionary Cuba. This group, until coming to the U.S. had had very limited contact with American culture. Many had been raised under communist ideology to view North America and American culture in a "yankee imperialist" framework. (Szapocznick, 1980a, p. 9) It is with this group especially that transference of previously learned behavior and attitudes toward Americans as a group may be a strong factor preventing the development of a successful counseling relationship.

The post-1980 wave of Cuban refugees was one of the more diverse groups to come to the U.S. This diversity was and is ideological and social as well as demographic. Among the adolescents were the following groups: those who came with their family, those who were unaccompanied, those who were forced to leave for political reasons, those who were or had been in jails, many for acts which are not crimes in the U.S., (Szapocznik, 1980a, p. 8) and those whose families forced them to leave even though the adolescents wanted to remain in Cuba.

The adult post-1980 group was just as diverse. Some were hard core criminals who are in jail in the U.S. In fact, the U.S. government is trying to return some members of this group to Cuba. Some were openly trying to obtain permission to leave Cuba, and in turn were socially ostracized by their communities. Some maintained the image of strong communist party members while secretly trying to arrange to leave the country.

Some were adolescents or adults when Castro came to power. Among this group are many who had interacted with the U.S. and American culture, who never accepted the yankee imperialist stance expounded by the communist party.

Also included in this group are those who valued pre-revolutionary Cuban values and traditions. This group often tried to maintain those traditions at home.

Included in this group is a sub-group of parents who brought their children with them. Some of these parents worked secretly, often for years, to leave Cuba. However, they never told their children of their plans or dreams due to fear of reprisal by the communist party. The intrafamilial conflict could potentially be very strong for this group due to resentment by the children of sudden separation from friends, social networks, country, other family members, and future dreams (Arredondo-Dowd, 1980) - a separation which they see as being caused by their parents (based on interviews with post-1980 Cubans, April, 1982).

The final two subgroups within the post-1980 refugee group are the adults and adolescents who were socio-politically dissident and those who were socially marginal in Cuba. The first group, the socio-politically dissident group is the largest of the two. "They were apparently able to maintain a certain level of psychological integrity through their conscious political opposition. This group may be the most psychologically resilient group...They can be expected to experience relocation and culture shock; they will be exposed to the stigma of being part of the Mariel Boatlift; they will lack appropriate support systems; and they will not have at the onset the intercultural skills or knowledge of the American system to negotiate their way into this society...However, these individuals can be helped considerably with these problems, (p. 4)." (Spencer, et al. 1981)

The second group, the marginal population is psychologically similar to "marginal groups in our country, those who have not participated in the power structure or shared in the benefits of our society, such as the inner city poor and members of minority groups...Mental health efforts with this population are necessary because they represent a highly vulnerable population, at risk for serious mental health, social and behavioral problems, (p. 4)." (Spencer, et al., 1981)

It is important to note at this point recent findings based on interviews conducted by Dr. Alan Burns and a team of graduate linguistic and education students from the University of Florida. "There is a real social difference between these people...The Spanish of the 1980 Cubans has in a sense been leveled by the revolution and a lot of terms for class distinction, such as honorifics, have fallen into disuse. As a result, to the Miami Cubans who have lived there all their lives and are used to a genteel type of Spanish, this recent immigrant speech sounds like street talk, low-class and loud.

In addition to their language,...the 1980 arrivals are separated from the earlier immigrants by their overall culture which Burns termed 'very puritanical'. Their major concern is crime and what they see as a lack of discipline in Americans." (Thomas, 1983)

Implications for Counseling

When one considers the diversity of the groups within the Cuban population in the U.S. today, one realizes that knowledge of subgroups within the Cuban culture is extremely important for the cross-cultural counselor. Vontress (1971) in his work with blacks found that each subgroup has its own perception of itself and its place in American society. This is true of subgroups within the Cuban society as well. It must be pointed out that this perceived relationship is not just to the dominate cultural group, but to subgroups within the society as well; for example, the subgroup relationships of Cubans to blacks as well as other Cubans and minority groups. As a result, members from different Cuban subgroups will have different reactions to their experiences in the American culture. They will in turn have different reactions to those who represent the culture - i.e. the counselor. These perceptions and reactions will then influence not only the type - positive or negative - but the degree of transference and·counter·transference behavior that might be manifested in the counseling relationship.

VI. AREAS OF CONFLICT BETWEEN CUBAN AND AMERICAN VALUES

ACCULTURATION

Introduction

Traditionally, acculturation has been defined as an adaptation to the host culture and subsequent loss or rejection of the culture of origin (Szapocznik, Fernandez, 1980). This definition is reflected in the Melting Pot theory which hypothesized that all immigrants would eventually melt into or become Americanized after their arrival in the United States. In short, they would reach the point where they would think, act, and speak like Americans.

Today, social researchers realize the limitations of this theory. While some groups did acculturate into the mainstream, many did not. As a result, a more comprehensive concept of acculturation has been postulated. First, acculturation is seen as an acceptance of both worlds, rather than a complete adaptation to the host culture. Second, this acceptance is followed by the development of the linguistic, cognitive, and behavioral skills necessary to function within both cultures (Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez, 1980).

What is not included is a rejection of the culture of origin. Rather, the acculturated individual today is seen as one who can effectively interact with both the host culture and the culture of origin.

In fact, researchers have found that "adapting the host culture and rejecting the culture of origin...inherently leads to psychological maladjustment" (Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez, 1980).

Components

Traditionally, acculturation was seen as the acquisition of both behavior and values of the host culture while "discarding those attributes of the culture of origin" (Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez, 1980). Thus, the more involved the immigrant became with the host culture, the more he/she lost the culture of origin. Recent research with Cuban refugees (Szapocznik Kurtines, and Fernandez, 1980) has indicated that the acculturation process is far more complex. The immigrant usually adapts behavior patterns more rapidly than values (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Arnalde, 1978). Also, the rate of adaptation varies with age and sex. Males adapt more rapidly than females, and youth adapt more rapidly than those of middle or old age (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Arnalde, 1978).

Thus, one of the first steps in counseling Cuban youth is that of determining the degree to which a person has become acculturated to American culture while maintaining the skills necessary to interact with the culture of origin. The level of acculturation must be determined for both behavior and values. (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines and Arnalde).

Two instruments, the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire and a Value Orientations Questionnaire developed by Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez (1980) and Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines and Arnalde (1978) respectively are excellent for this purpose. The reader interested in the reliability and validity of these scales is referred to the original studies cited in the bibliography of this monograph.

ASSESSING BEHAVIORAL INDICATORS OF CULTURAL ADAPTATION

The Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire is an aid in assessing behavioral bicultural adaptation on page 77. It should be cautioned that use of this questionnaire presupposes the counselor's knowledge of the client's culture of origin. In this sense the culture of origin could mean Cuba for recent refugees of the local community or neighborhood for those refugees and immigrants who are more established. Ideally, the counselor should also have some idea of the norm for the rate of acculturation among members of the client's social group. This can help the counselor determine whether or not the client is exhibiting one of two extreme behavior patterns - rapid acculturation or under-acculturation.

The scoring for the questionnaire is done using a 5-point Likert type scale. Two scores are obtained, one for Hispanicism and one for Americanism. For items 1-24 the score is the number of the answer circled for each item: for example, 1 = not at all comfortable and 5 = very comfortable.

Items 25-33 are scored twice, once for Hispanicism and once for Americanism. A score of 3 on item 25 would be a three for both scales. However, a score of 5 would be a 5 on Americanism and a 1 for Hispanicism.

The scores on items 1-5, 11-17 and the Hispanicism score on items 25-33 indicate a person's Hispanic culturalism. The scores on items 6-10, 18-24, and the Americanism score on items 25-33 indicate a person's American culturalism.

From these basic scores two overall scores can be calculated, the Biculturalism score and the Cultural Involvement Scale. The Biculturalism score is calculated by subtracting Americanism from Hispanicism with "scores deviating from zero indicating the degree of monoculturalism in either the Hispanic (postive number) or American (negative number) direction." A score approaching zero indicates biculturalism.

The Cultural Involvement Inventory score is obtained by adding the Hispanicism and Americanism scores "with a high score indicating a greater degree of cultural involvement, a low score indicating lesser cultural involvement, and a lower score indicating cultural marginality, i.e., a lack of involvement in either culture" (Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez, 1980). Readers wishing to use this scale are referred to the original article and to the senior author for information concerning the statistical analysis of the scores.

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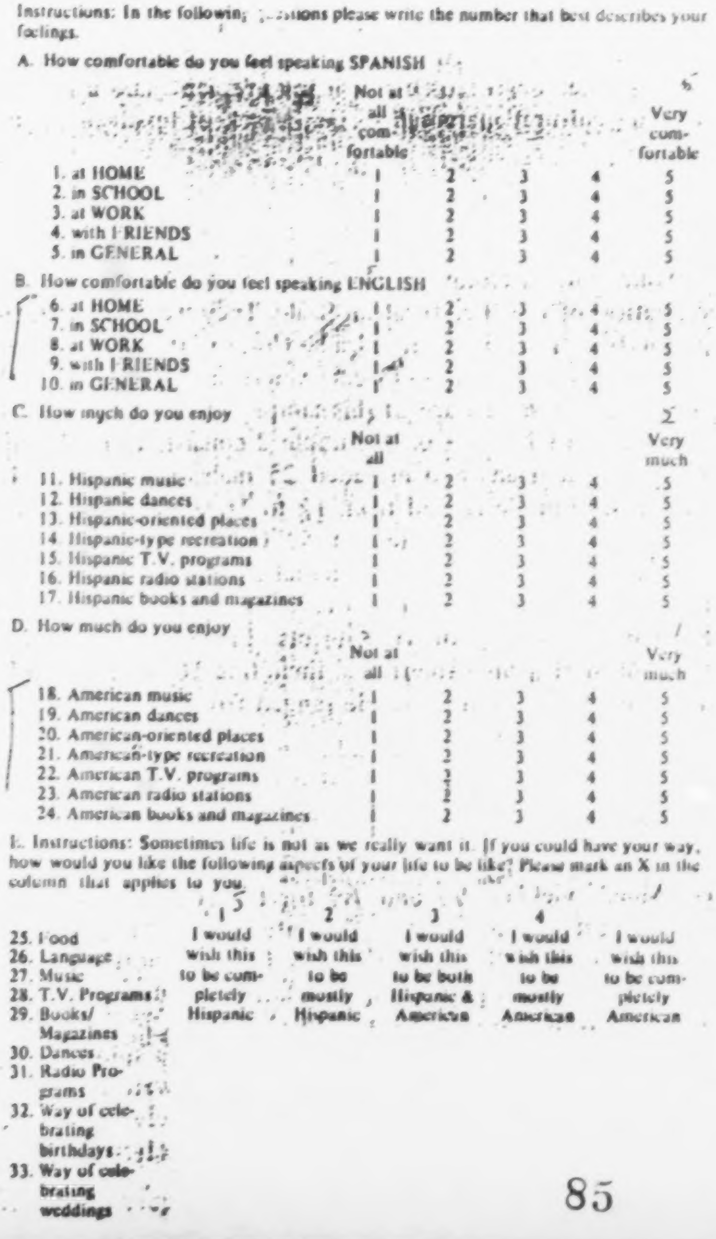
One caution should be stated at this point. The Bicultural Involvement scale is a self report instrument designed to measure how comfortable a Cuban client feels in his own as well as American culture. Since this is based on the client's perceptions of his/her behavior the limitation of self report instruments are inherent in using this scale. To illicit a more comprehensive picture of the client, the counselor may want to administer this scale to significant others, i.e., teachers and family members, to obtain their perceptions on a more comprehensive view of their client.



Instructions: In the following questions please write the number that best describes your feelings.

A. How comfortable do you feel speaking SPANISH

	Not at all comfortable				Very comfortable
1. at HOME	1	2	3	4	5
2. in SCHOOL	1	2	3	4	5
3. at WORK	1	2	3	4	5
4. with FRIENDS	1	2	3	4	5
5. in GENERAL	1	2	3	4	5

B. How comfortable do you feel speaking ENGLISH

6. at HOME	1	2	3	4	5
7. in SCHOOL	1	2	3	4	5
8. at WORK	1	2	3	4	5
9. with FRIENDS	1	2	3	4	5
10. in GENERAL	1	2	3	4	5

C. How much do you enjoy

	Not at all				Very much
11. Hispanic music	1	2	3	4	5
12. Hispanic dances	1	2	3	4	5
13. Hispanic-oriented places	1	2	3	4	5
14. Hispanic-type recreation	1	2	3	4	5
15. Hispanic T.V. programs	1	2	3	4	5
16. Hispanic radio stations	1	2	3	4	5
17. Hispanic books and magazines	1	2	3	4	5

D. How much do you enjoy

	Not at all				Very much
18. American music	1	2	3	4	5
19. American dances	1	2	3	4	5
20. American-oriented places	1	2	3	4	5
21. American-type recreation	1	2	3	4	5
22. American T.V. programs	1	2	3	4	5
23. American radio stations	1	2	3	4	5
24. American books and magazines	1	2	3	4	5

E. Instructions: Sometimes life is not as we really want it. If you could have your way, how would you like the following aspects of your life to be like? Please mark an X in the column that applies to you.

	1 I would wish this to be completely Hispanic	2 I would wish this to be mostly Hispanic	3 I would wish this to be both Hispanic & American	4 I would wish this to be mostly American	I would wish this to be completely American
25. Food					
26. Language					
27. Music					
28. T.V. Programs					
29. Books/ Magazines					
30. Dances					
31. Radio Programs					
32. Way of celebrating birthdays					
33. Way of celebrating weddings					

Figure: The 33 Items Selected for the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez, 1980)

When dealing with Cuban youth, Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez (1980) have two extremes. One is that of Cuban youth who "over acculturate." Generally they are characterized by the following:

> ...second generation youngsters, especially those of junior and senior high school age, may tend to overacculturate and give up their roots, they reject their parents and their culture of origin giving rise to serious family and intrapersonal identity conflicts. In these cases, the parents may perceive the problem as the high level of acculturation of the youngster, responding with attempts to stiffle adjustive Americanization on the part of the youngster. These intergenerational conflicts tend to escalate quickly. One common result of these conflicts is that the youngster rebels against all authority figures, generalizing to the school setting where they become highly disruptive discipline problems, (p. 363).

The other extreme are those who are "under acculturated":

> At the other end of the spectrum a few youngsters underacculturate, retaining their Hispanicity and failing to learn adaptive Americanized behaviors. These youngsters remain close to their families, and they tend to belong to families who have been traumatized by the immigration process.:.In these families, children tend to get along well with their parents, but they also become withdrawn, isolated, and apathetic so that they present a depressed, neurotic pattern of behaviors...Except under these extreme situations (suicidal tendencies) these underacculturated youths are never identified by the school system since they are not very disruptive, (p. 364).

Two effects of rapid acculturation by family members especially youth, are a breakdown of the extended family and intergenerational conflicts. The following quotations illustrate these effects.

1. Breakdown of extended family:
    a. "Now, however, because of the intergenerational differential rates of acculturation the extended family has become a liability and a major source of stress and disruption, (p. 16)." (Szapocznik, et al., 1977)
    b. "What was once a valued role for the elder, to be an authority figure in the family, is now considered by the modern Americanized

children and grandchildren as interference in their internal affairs, (p. 16)." (Szapocznik, Faletti and Scopetta, 1977)

c. "...the intergenerational differences in acculturation have accelerated the disruption of the nuclear and extended families and caused these elders to become isolated from their children and grandchildren, (p. 16)." (Szapocznik, Faletti and Scoppetta, 1977)

2. Intergenerational conflicts: "It was also observed that severe intergenerational conflict existed in the families of these women" (middle-class Cuban women with adolescent children). "...The mother exposed to intergenerational conflict usually experiences one set of mother role expectations from her culture, husband, parents, and herself, on one hand, and a different set of mother role expectations from her children, on the other hand, (p. 6)." (Hispanic Research Center, 1979)

ASSESSING ADAPTATION OF CULTURAL VALUES

The Cross-Cultural Activity questionnaire reproduced on pages 82-93 of this monograph, can be used with Cuban clients to assess the client's value orientation and degree of value acculturation. Developed by Szapocznik, Scopetta, and Tillman at the University of Miami, 1977, this scale is based on the value orientations developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). The value orientations presented at the beginning of the monograph provide an expanded definition of the original orientations.

Reliability and validity data for this instrument were collected by Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines and Arnalde (1978). Four samples were selected from the Miami area. One consisted of 265 Cuban Americans, ages 14 to 85, 105 females and 150 males. The sample represented individuals who were in various stages of acculturation. They also represented different levels of socio-economic status. Sample two consisted of 201 white Anglo-Americans born in the United States. They represented the "cultural group toward which the Cuban community was acculturation (p. 116)." The second sample ranged from 17-74 years of age and represented various levels of socioeconomic status.

Results indicated that while the Cross-Cultural Activity Questionnaire appeared to be a valid indicator of Cuban value acculturation to American culture, further validation of the instrument was necessary.

A third sample of 69 Cuban American high school students and a fourth sample of 50 white American high school students were also taken. Schools in the sample were matched on socioeconomic status. Results indicated that there are differences between Cuban-Americans and Americans on the value orientations. These differences can be measured and reflect the degree of acculturation of the Cuban-American. However, behavioral indicators appear to be the better criterion for measuring acculturation.

One limitation concerning the use of value constructs was reported by the researchers. This is the fact that in reality there is no ideal type for American or Cuban cultural values. Rather, there are variations which are relative to the community a client comes from. As a result, before using this instrument as a diagnostic tool for assessing a Cuban client's level of acculturation and his/her resulting maladaptive behavior, if any exists, the counselor needs to be aware of the following factor. This factor is the community identification of each of the items regarding their appropriateness for Cubans at different levels of acculturation.

The Cross-Cultural Activity Questionnaire consists of 22 items. These items measure "five basic dimensions of human problems which must be solved by all cultures. This includes the following: (1) relational style (items 1-9), (2) person-nature relationship (items 10-13), (3) beliefs about human nature (items 14-17), (4) a time orientation (items 18-20), and (5) an activity orientation (items 21-22)" (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Arnalde, 1978). Due to the complexities of scoring procedures, those wishing to use this instrument are referred to the original article or the senior researcher, Dr. José Szapocznik.

VII. CROSS-CULTURAL ACTIVITY

QUESTIONNAIRE

The following Cross Cultural Activity Questionnaire was developed in conjunction with a research project conducted by Szapocznik, Scopetta and Tillman at the University of Miami in 1977. The questionnaire is based on Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's research on value orientations.

INSTRUCTIONS

In the following questionnaire you will find several problem situations and three possible ways of solving each situation.

Of the three solutions, please choose the one which, according to your opinion, is the best.

Then choose the one which, according to your opinion, is the worst. Finally, choose the one which, you think, represents best the American viewpoint.

What should a family do if it discovers that one of its members uses drugs?

1. The head of the family should take charge of the situation. If this does not resolve the problem then it's best for the drug user to go to a doctor or psychiatrist.
2. The members of the family should discuss the reason drugs are used and in this way together arrive at a solution.
3. The family should consider that the use of drugs is a personal issue, and that each individual should lead an independent life without the interference of others.

Which of these three alternatives do think is best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do think is worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these alternatives represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three young people were talking about how they would feel if their families found out that they used drugs.

1. The first one said: I consider myself part of a group of people who use drugs as a means of fighting against the pressures of the world today.
2. The second one said: The use of drugs would make me feel ashamed for having gone against my parent's teachings.
3. The third one said: The use of drugs is a personal issue, everyone is responsible for his/her own behavior and for no one else's.

Which of these young people, in your opinion, has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these ideas represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three mothers talk about what they would do if they found out that their daughters were having sexual relations with their boyfriends.

1. The first one said: I would forbid her to continue that relationship since it is against the principles her father and I have taught her.
2. The second one said: I think she has a right to act freely without her parent's interference.
3. The third one said: I would speak with my daughter as if she were a friend. We would try discussing it to see if it is a mature and responsible relationship and together we would reach an agreement as to what is best for her.

Which of these mothers has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these mothers has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these ideas represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three young women were talking about how they would feel if their families knew that they were maintaining sexual relations with their boyfriends.

1. The first one would see herself as belonging to a group of people who find no reason to restrict sexual relations to marriage.
2. The second one would feel guilty for having acted against the principles that her parents have taught her.
3. The third would consider that she has a right to live as she pleases without having to account for her behavior to anyone.

Which of these young women has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these young women has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these ideas represent best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

A young man is offered a good job outside the town in which he lives with his family. He thinks of three different alternatives as to what he could do.

1. Consult with his parents and accept the job only if they approve.
2. Consult with his friends, brothers and sisters before coming to a conclusion.
3. Make the decision himself without consulting with his family.

Which of these three alternatives do you think is the best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these do you think is the worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these alternatives represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Because of economic difficulties, a young father can no longer support his family. Below are three suggestions as to what he could do.

1. Ask a fried for help until the situation improves.
2. Turn to his father to help him solve the problem.
3. Get various jobs asking no one for help.

Which of these do you think is the best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these do you think is the worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which idea represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

What should an employee do if his boss asks him to do a job a certain way and he believes it could be done in a different way?

1. The employee should give his opinion to the boss about how the job should be done and together they should find the best way of doing it.
2. The employee should do the job in the way that his boss prescribed since he considers his boss an expert in the subject.
3. The employee should do the job in his own way since the most important thing is to get the job done.

Which of these three ideas do you think is the best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is the worst? ___(Write the No.)

Which of the ideas represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

In reference to women...three different points of view follow:

1. Man and woman should be partners. She should work if she wants to and, at the same time, share the duties of the household with her husband.
2. A woman should be a man's complement. Thus, while he goes out to work, she should take care of the housework and the children.
3. Women should try to achieve their own goals, without allowing their husbands or traditional ideas to limit them.

Which of these viewpoints do you think is the best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is the worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three different opinions are given as to how decisions should be reached in a family.

1. Each member of the family should give his/her opinion and among all reach an agreement.
2. Each member of the family should make his own decision without consulting other members of the family.
3. The father should make the decision for the whole family.

Which of these three ideas do you think is the best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is the worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three people give their opinion as to the nature of human beings...

1. People are born good; however, their environment can either keep them good or corrupt them.
2. All people are born with malicious and selfish impulses; however, their environment determines to a great extent if they will remain this way forever, or if they will change for the better.
3. People are neither good nor bad at birth. The environment that surrounds them determines to what extent they become good or bad.

Which of these three opinions do you think is the best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is the worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Someone commits a very serious crime and much is said about what will be done with the criminal. Three people give their opinions on this issue.

1. The first one said: People are naturally good. Most people involved in these kinds of crimes are victims of their circumstances.
2. The second one said: Committing a crime does not necessarily mean that someone is totally bad. Everyone has positive as well as negative qualities.
3. The third one said: Committing a crime means that someone is basically bad. Nothing can be done for such a person. That individual deserves maximum punishment.

Which of these three people do you think has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do think has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which idea represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three people discuss the need for laws and other controls in society.

1. The first person said: Laws are necessary in our society because people have good and bad instincts and some control is necessary in order to make the good outweigh the bad.
2. The second person said: People have basically selfish impulses. Laws are necessary to control individuals as well as society because if people were left to do as they pleased, they would destroy each other.
3. The third person said: People are basically good. Laws are necessary to help people channel their good impulses.

Which of these people do you think has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which of these ideas represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three persons are discussing the family and the need for parents to exert some control over their children.

1. The first one said: All human beings have good and bad instincts. Parents should guide the behavior of their children so that the good instincts can outweigh the bad.

2. The second one said: Human beings have selfish impulses which should be controlled. If parents did not exert control over their children there would be tremendous conflict between them.

3. The third one said: It is the parents responsibility to guide the good attitudes and instincts of their children which are the basis of human nature.

Which of these people do you think has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which idea represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

There are different views concerning God...

1. Some people believe that human beings should be close to God. If things are not going well for someone, it is because that person is not in harmony with God.

2. Other people believe that God does not control the lives of human beings. Each individual is responsible for controlling his own life. If things are not going well for someone, it is because that person does not know how to confront the circumstances.

3. Other people believe that God completely controls the lives of human beings. Whatever happens is considered to be the will of God. Whether things go well or not is completely beyond the individual's control and there is nothing than can change this.

Which of these points of view do you think is best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three people were talking about abortion.

1. The first one said: Human beings should submit to natural occuring phenomena, such as pregnancy, rather than interfering with nature by means of an abortion.
2. The second one said: One has to live in harmony with nature. Natural methods should be used to prevent pregnancy so that the harmony between man and nature is not altered as it is with abortion.
3. The third one said: Human beings are entitled to control their lives and abortion is one method of doing this.

Which of these three persons do you think has the best viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Which person do you think has the worst viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Which represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

During the dry season a man loses all the plants and flowers in his garden, three explanations are offered for this phenomenon.

1. Human beings cannot fight against the forces of nature. The drought caused the death of the plants. Therefore, the individual has to wait for the rainy season in order for the plants to grow again.
2. Human beings have to work in harmony with nature. If it's the dry season and natural conditions are unfavorable to gardening, the individual must then find another natural way to water the plants.
3. Human beings don't have to depend on natural forces. With or without rain the individual should look for technological means to keep his plants from dying.

Which of these explanations do you think is best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three people are discussing scientific advances which prolong human life.

1. The first one said: One should do everything one can to lengthen human life. Physicians and other professionals have discovered ways to do it through new medicines and other technological means. We should make use of these resources to live longer.
2. The second one said: Nature has a plan for every human being. If one adapts to nature's plan one will live longer than the rest.
3. The third one said: Every human being has a predetermined date to die. When this moment comes, nothing can be done to lengthen one's life.

Which of these persons do you think has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

People have many different ideas about the past and about what can be expected from the future in life.

1. Some people believe that it is better to concentrate on the present and on what is going on today. The past is past and the future is too uncertain to be given much thought.
2. Some people believe that life was better in the old days. Changes always make life worse. The past traditions should always be maintained and brought back whenever they are forgotten.
3. Other people believe that the future is almost always better. But one must plan for the future and work hard so that the future will be better.

Which of these ideas do you think is best ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is the worst? ___ (WRite the No.)

Which represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Soon after their father's death a group of brothers and sisters are having a talk. Their mother's health is not good and the doctor says that it will soon get worse. At present the mother is living alone and needs no help but soon she will be needing it. Her children are worried but display three different viewpoints about what should be done.

1. The first one said: It is better to have things as they are. The future is uncertain and one must take things as they come.
2. It is better to prepare mother for the future so that she will have medical attention and other needs secured whenever she may need them.
3. The third one said: It is better to have mother live with one of us. It has always been a family tradition to have elderly persons living at home.

Which of these viewpoints do you think is best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three people discuss the proper way to bring up children.

1. The first one said: The best way to bring up children is to do so as it was done in the past, teaching them to respect tradition and their elders.
2. The second one said: The best way to bring up children is to prepare them for the future.
3. The third one said: The best way to bring up children is to teach them to live and to get along in the world of today.

Which of these persons do you think has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which idea represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three people describe the ideal world in different ways.

1. The first one said: The ideal world for me would be one where I would have the opportunity to display my talent in all sorts of activities (from sewing a dress to fixing an engine) and where I would be rewarded for my achievements.
2. The second one said: The ideal world for me would be one where I can be what I want to be; where I can be around my friends, or with my family as I may desire.
3. The third one said: The ideal world for me would be one which would offer me peace of mind and tranquility to get to know myself, my potentials, and to have the opportunity to actualize them.

Which of these persons do you think has the best idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which has the worst idea? ___ (Write the No.)

Which idea represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

Three people were talking about what they did with their free time.

1. The first one said: I dedicate my free time to study myself and to find ways of developing myself as a person.
2. The second one said: In my free time, I study so that I can be among the best students, or I practice sports so that I can be among the best athletes. I like when my achievements lead me to success.
3. The third one said: Success is not so important to me. I spend my free time being with my friends or with my family.

Which of these ideas do you think is the best? ___ (Write the No.)

Which do you think is the worst? ___ (Write the No.)

Which idea represents best the American viewpoint? ___ (Write the No.)

MULTICULTURAL WORKSHOP WITH COUNSELORS/PSYCHOLOGISTS

Small Group Activity

A. Once the participants have become familiar with the values for the American and the Cuban cultures, have them list possible areas where value conflicts could cause or influence mental health problems.

B. Have the participants then list common problems the students they deal with have and the counseling methods they use to deal with those problems

Example: Disruptive behavior in class (talking)
1) talk to student alone
2) develop plan for student to follow

talking persists
3) involve teacher (how would teacher be utilized)
4) involve parents (how would parent be utilized)
5) does student involvement change

Questions which might be addressed here include

a) is student passive or active in resolving the problem
b) what is the role of the counselor, facilitator or director of behavior
c) what is the role of the teacher, if utilized: an active participant in developing plan of action to change behavior or passive acceptor of what the counselor and student decide.

Participants could also discuss the specific methods they prefer: Rogerian, direct feedback, facilitative interview, etc.

Once the participants have completed this activity they should then come together and share the information. Blackboards or large newsprint pads should be available to be able to list problems, methods of counseling, role of student, role of counselor, role of teacher, and role of parent.

When a general agreement has been reached concerning present practices participants should be given the list on the following page. This list contains value areas of greatest conflict between Cuban and American culture as reported in the literature.

Once participants have studied the list ask if they could make any recommendations to modify or change the approaches they generally use in counseling students. After all suggestions have been made, give participants the list of recommendations made by other counselors and psychologists. Discuss these findings and see whether or not the counselors feel they could incorporate these changes into their existing programs.

VIII. VALUES AFFECTING CROSS-CULTURAL COUNSELING

ANGLO/CUBAN RELATIONSHIPS

Although transference and counter transference are possible barriers to establishing an effective cross-cultural relationship, research has shown that they tend to be manifested more in cross-racial, i.e. black-white, counseling (Vontress, 1971) than in cross-ethnic counseling. In fact, research reported in LeVine and Padilla (1980, p. 152-154) indicates that what Hispanics tend to find lacking in the counseling relationship is an understanding by the counselor of Hispanic values and culture (Palomares and Haro, 1971). Thus, conflict in values and their resulting expectations and perceptions seem to be the major factors to consider in establishing effective Anglo-Cuban counseling relationships.

It should be noted here that it is not just Anglo-Cuban counseling relationships which can be affected by value conflicts. As Alan Burns (1983) pointed out there appears to be a greater separation between pre-1980 and post-1980 Cubans in the U.S. than between the pre-1980 and the Anglo culture in the U.S. As a result, a Cuban-American counselor may experience value conflicts when working with the post-1980 refugees. Just because a counselor comes from a Cuban heritage doesn't automatically mean that he/she will be able to establish an effective counseling relationship with a Cuban client, especially if that client's life experiences are very different from those of the counselor.

The following attempts to present, in an organized format, examples of the values which potentially create conflict in the counseling situation. The examples are limited to Anglo/Cuban counseling relationships. This is due to the fact that there is no research available concerning conflicts in pre-1980 Cuban-American/post-1980 Cuban values. The data is not exhaustive. It's purpose is to make the counselor aware of potential sources of conflict in the counseling relationship. The counselor/ psychologist is encouraged to make additional notes and to add additional categories as he/she reads the articles cited in the bibliography.

CONFLICT

Peer vs. Family Orientation - Post 1980 Cubans

"...A sector of the new Cuban refugee population has grown up in a culture that undermines parental authority. In particular, some of the youth and young adults rather than seeking lineal relations like the 1960's Cubans, seek collateral or peer oriented relations. It is fascinating to consider the implications that the change from lineality to collaterality in relationship style may have for this population. Whereas Cubans from previous waves were likely to prefer organizing into extended family support systems, the 1980 Cubans may feel more comfortable with block level and community level systems of support which are comprised primarily of peers, very similar to the social organizations fostered by the political system in Cuba in the last 20 years, (p. 5)." (Szapocznik, José, March 1981)

Implications for Counseling: rather than incorporating the family into the counseling process, the counselor may need to develop community and peer support systems which can be integrated into the counseling process.

Present vs. Future Orientation

1. "We find some of these Cubans (recent refugees) tend to be very present oriented. Such a time orientation makes it difficult to motivate them on the basis of long-term goals, and thus immediate reinforcement may have to be built into treatment plans, (p. 5)." This reaction to the present condition "was primarily characterized by frustration and sadness, (p. 7)." (Szapocznik, March 1981)
2. There was another aspect to the training needs of the program which was directly related to the Hispanic style of seeking help. The Hispanic

clients came to the agency only when the situation they confronted was a crisis, (p. 6)." (Hispanic Research Center, 1979)

Nature (relationship of man and nature)

"Cuban immigrants lack an orientation to attempt to exercise control over detrimental natural forces and environmental conditions, whereas, mainstream Anglo-Americans are more likely to perceive themselves as having mastery over their environment." (Szapocznik, 1979, p. 6)

The Family (relational style)

However, "some of the most difficult acculturation problems to be resolved by the family were the acculturation differences in relational style, where parents remained lineal and youngsters began to assert their individualism." (Szapocznik, 1979, p. 5)

IX. POSSIBLE CONFLICTS BETWEEN COUNSELOR AND CLIENT

EXPECTATIONS

The previous section focused on values which are possible sources of conflict between counselors and Cuban/Cuban-American clients. Just knowing what the values are, however, is not enough. The counselor must also be aware of how these values can affect the counseling relationship. One important way is the formation of expectations and perceptions which the counselor and client bring to the counseling relationship. The chart which follows provides a comparison of underlying expectations and perceptions that the counselor and client bring to the counseling relationship. These expectations and perceptions are based on values about counseling and the counseling process.

EXPECTATIONS AND PERCEPTIONS

COUNSELOR	CUBAN/CUBAN-AMERICAN CLIENT
1. "Counselors often tend to expect their counselors to exhibit some degree of openness, psychological mindedness, or sophistication" (Sue and Sue, 1977).	1. "The client's unfamiliarity with the counseling role may hinder the success of counseling and cause the counselor to blame the failure on the client. Thus, the minority client may be perceived as hostile and resistant" (Sue and Sue, 1977), supported by Vontress (1969).
2. "Most theories of counseling place a high premium upon verbal, emotional and behavioral expressiveness and the attainment of insight" (Sue and Sue, 1977).	2. "This generic characteristic of counseling is not only antagonistic to lower-class values but to different cultural ones as well. For example, statements by some mental health professionals that Asian-Americans are the most repressed of all clients indicate that they expect their counselees to exhibit openness, psychological mindedness, and assertedness." This reflects a lack of insight by the counselor that some cultures may "value restraint of strong feelings and suddenness in approaching problems. Intimate revelations of personal or social problems may not be acceptable because such difficulties reflect not only on the individual but on the whole family. Thus, the family may exert strong pressures on the Asian-American client not to reveal personal matters to 'strangers' or 'outsiders'." (Sue and Sue, 1977)
3. "Counseling is usually a one-to-one activity that encourages clients to talk about or to discuss the most intimate aspects of their lives" (Sue and Sue, 1977).	3. "Reflection of feelings, concern with insight, and attempts to discover underlying intrapsychic problems are seen as inappropriate. Thus, lower-class clients expect to receive advice or some form of concrete tangible treatment. When the counselor attempts to explore personality dynamics or to take an historical approach to the problem, the client often becomes confused, alienated and frustrated." (Sue and Sue, 1977) Supported by Abad, Ramos, and Boyce (1974) and Vontress (1969 and 1971).

	COUNSELOR		CUBAN/CUBAN-AMERICAN CLIENT
4.	"The counseling situation is an ambiguous one. The client is encouraged to discuss problems, whereas the counselor listens and responds. Relatively speaking, the counseling situation is unstructured and forces the client to be the primary active participant." (Sue and Sue, 1977)	4.	"The ambiguous and unstructured aspect of the counseling situation may create discomfort in the third-world clients. The culturally different may not be familiar with counseling and may perceive it as an unknown and mystifying process. Some groups, like the Chinese, may have been raised in an environment that actively structures social relationships and patterns of interaction. Therefore, anxiety and confusion may be the outcome in an unstructured counseling setting." (Sue and Sue, 1977) Supported by Szapocznik, Scopetta, Arnolde and Kurtines, (1978).
5.	"Patterns of communication are generally from client to counselor" (Sue and Sue, 1977).	5.	"The cultural upbringing of many minorities dictates different patterns of communication that may place them at a disadvantage in counseling. Counseling initially demands that communication move from client to counselor. The client is expected to take major responsibility for initiating conversation in the session while the counselor plays a less active role. Asian-Americans, Chicanos, and native Americans, however, function under different cultural imperatives that may make this difficult. These three groups may have been raised to respect elders and authority figures and "not to speak until spoken to." Clearly defined roles of dominance and deference are established in the traditional family. A minority client who may be asked to initiate conversation may become uncomfortable and respond with only short phrases or statements. The counselor may be prone to interpret the behavior negatively when in actuality it may be a sign of respect." (Sue and Sue, 1977)

	COUNSELORS	CUBAN/CUBAN-AMERICAN CLIENT
6.	There is a monolingual (English) orientation (Sue and Sue, 1977).	"Berstein (1964) has investigated the suitability of English for the lower-class poor in psychotherapy and has concluded that it works to the detriment of those individuals" (Sue and Sue, 1977), supported by Vontress (1969).
7.	The emphasis is on long-range goals (Sue and Sue, 1977).	Clients may need or prefer "short-term and crisis counseling approaches...'Lower-class clients who are concerned with 'survival' or making it through on a day-to-day basis expect advice and suggestions from the counselor. Appointments made weeks in advance with short weekly 50-minute contacts are not consistent with the need to seek immediate solutions." (Sue and Sue, 1977) Supported by Szapocznik, Scopetta, Arnalde and Kurtines (1978).
8.	There is a distinction made between physical and mental well-being (Sue and Sue, 1977).	"Many Latinos, native Americans, Asian-Americans, and Blacks also hold a different concept of what constitutes mental health, mental illness, and adjustment. Among the Chinese, the concept of mental health or psychological well-being is not clearly understood. Padilla et al. (1975) argue that the Spanish-speaking surnamed do not make a distinction between 'mental' and 'physical' health. Thus, non-physical problems are most likely to be referred to a physician, priest, or minister. Third-world persons operating under this orientation may enter counseling expecting to be treated by counselors in the manner they expect doctors or priests to behave. Immediate solutions and concrete tangible forms of treatment (advice, confession, consolation, and mediation) are expected." (Sue and Sue, 1977) Supported by Szapocznik, Scopetta, (1978).

COUNSELORS	CUBAN/CUBAN-AMERICAN CLIENT
9. There is an emphasis on cause and effect relationships (Sue and Sue, 1977).	9. "Theories of counseling tend to be distinctly analytical, rational, verbal, and strongly stress discovering cause-effect relationships. This emphasis on Aristotelian logic is in marked contrast to the philosophy of many cultures. For example, world views emphasize the harmonious aspects of the world, intuitive functioning, and a holistic approach - a world view that is characterized by right-brain activity (Ornstein, 1972) and that is devoid of analytical/reductionistic inquiries. Thus, when undergoing counseling, the analytic approach may violate their philosophy of life." (Sue and Sue, 1977).

X. EMERGING SKILLS AND ROLES OF THE COUNSELOR

The information presented in this monograph has provided an overview of the factors which must be considered in the cross-cultural counseling of Cuban/Cuban-American clients. Besides this, the monograph also reflects implications for the role of the counselor/psychologist and the skills the counselor/psychologist will need to establish effective support services for Cuban/Cuban-American clients. Some of these implications are discussed below.

NEGOTIATIVE AND COLLABORATIVE

Many refugees, especially post-1980 Cubans will lack the knowledge and skills to successfully negotiate and make use of the social services support network. These include health services, social services - welfare, employment, and education. As a result, the role of counselor will need to be one of direct involvement as coordinator and intermediary between the client and social services network. Thus, a major goal of counseling will be incorporation of the client into the network and teaching the client the negotiating skills which will be needed once the counseling relationship is terminated.

> The negotiative skills pertained primarily to the disposition and referral processes, including the expectation that the clinician would follow up all referrals in order to guarantee their effectiveness. By assisting the alienated Hispanic client to negotiate complex institutional mazes in order to obtain appropriate help and social services -- the counselor was introduced to the roles of expeditor, facilitator, advocate and cultural bridge, (p. 6). (Hispanic Research Center, 1974)

COMMUNITY EDUCATOR

The role of the counselor/psychologist as community educator is crucial. It is also one of the least traditional aspects of the counseling process. An excellent illustration of this is the quote which follows:

> An important step in dealing with the mental health needs of the population is to remove from them the stigma that is associated with an identity as a 'Mariel Refugee.'...As mental health professionals, we must help this population to overcome their stigmatized roles, as well as to foster in the community a more open and constructive attitude toward them (p. 3). (Spencer, et al., 1981)

Although specifically referring to the Mariel Refugees, this quote reflects a more general role, that of cross-cultural interpreter to those outside the client's culture.

Specifically, the counselor/psychologist will need to become a cultural bridge through which stereotypes and misperceptions about the client and his/her ethnic group are reduced. Thus, a goal of the counseling process will be that of helping those who deal with the client to understand the client's culture and the validity of that culture. This will include working with not only the general public, but teachers, administrators and providers of social services. (Klovern, Madera, and Nardone, 1974; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Arnalde, and Kurtines, 1978)

Besides a cultural bridge to those outside the culture, the counselor/psychologist may also need to become a bridge between the client and his/her family. This will be especially true for Cuban youth who have acculturated rapidly, and older family members who wish to maintain traditional values and behaviors. In this situation the family needs to be made aware that a change in behavior does not necessarily reflect a subsequent change in values (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines and Arnalde, 1978).

A final way in which the counselor will need to act as cultural bridge will be between the client and the culture (Ayala-Vazquez, 1979). Aften adolescent youth adapt the behavior of the culture without understanding the culture bound meaning of the bahaviors they are immitating. As a result, the client needs to be made aware of how his/her behavior is perceived by members of the host culture. Conversely, a client may also need to be made aware of how his/her values influence how he/she interprets the behavior of those in the host culture (Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez, 1980). An excellent reference addressing these issues is Skotho, Cohen and Szapocznik's (1981) paper which deals with the problems related to counseling unaccompanied male youth.

TRANSCULTURATION

A major job facing the counselor will be that of transculturation. This refers to the integration of the client's culture into the counseling process, or selecting the most appropriate methods and techniques based on the values and culture of the client.

> In working with any population, it is critical to consider the cultural characteristics of that population and their implications for developing mental health services...It benefits us, then, as providers of services, to adopt a transcultural stance in service delivery. Transcultural here refers to our willingness to acknowledge differences between cultures and to be willing to respect and utilize the population's own cultural characteristics in service delivery, (p. 5). (Spencer, et al., 1981)

This does not mean that the counselor/psychologist should give up his/her values. Rather, that the values of both the counselor/psychologist should be combined to create a counseling strategy that will effectively help the client achieve his/her goals. Rod McDavis (1982) presents an excellent conceptualization of the transcultural process in his paper on trancultural counseling.

CRISIS COUNSELOR

The process of sudden immigration, of leaving your country, family and friends, of being a refugee, is one form of crisis a client, especially a post-1980 Cuban refugee, may be dealing with.

> The boatlift qualified as a crisis in the lives of these adolescents, and much was gained by conceptualizing their situation in terms of disaster management, and coping with stress and loss of mastery. (Spencer, 1981, p.9)

Problems related to this type of crisis are detailed in "Personal loss and grief as a result of immigration" (Arredondo-Dowd, 1980).

As discussed earlier, the Hispanic client may wait until a situation reaches a crisis level before seeking counseling. This tendency in part may be influenced by the present orientation of the client. It is a problem when it becomes one, not before.

In this situation, the counselor will need to deal with the immediate crisis effectively before a long term counseling strategy can be implemented.

> That staff was trained to individualize crisis as a learning dilemma, that is, a situation for which the client had not learned adequate coping behaviors. The strategy of the helper was to use the crisis situation to encourage appropriate new behavioral patterns in the client. To achieve this, it was essential for the counselors to learn a diagnostic evaluation process which provided an understanding of the precipitating circumstances of the crisis as well as the coping potentials of the client. Once this diagnosis was achieved the counselor needed to revive and strengthen coping abilities, or to teach new ones, (p. 6). (Hispanic Research Center, 1979)

RESEARCHER

One final change in the role of the counselor/psychologist is that of counselor as researcher. "In rapidly changing modern societies, our work will include: 1) developing methodologies to study change, 2) studying the everchanging realities of our groups, and 3) utilizing the research findings to develop adequate procedures for mental health intervention," (Szapocznik, 1979, p. 10). The goal of this role is that of communication with colleagues and the subsequent development of effective strategies for providing services to cross-cultural clients.

XI. MENTAL HEALTH

DELIVERY SYSTEM FOR CUBANS

Based on Szapocznik, José. "The Cuban exile in the United States: adjustment and maladjustment." May 1979. pp. 6-10.

A major cause underlying mental health problems for Cuban refugees and exiles in the United States is acculturation and the resulting conflicts in values which occur during the acculturation process. These problems are of a different nature, and "go beyond the typical mental health problems that affect most individuals (p. 9)" in the United States. As a result, it is necessary to adapt existing treatment models, or to "identify treatment models" which "are based on therapeutic assumptions complementary to the Cuban's value structure (p. 6)." Three areas which should be considered are "the Cuban's preference for lineality, their orientation not to attempt to modify the effects of environmental conditions, and their present time orientation (p. 6)."

Practical Applications

Lineal relationship style

"This interpersonal relationship style may receive the support of the therapist by relating to the client hierarchically recognizing that the therapist's role is perceived by the client as a position of authority. With this recognition the therapist takes responsibility and charge of the newly formed therapeutic relationship (p. 7)."

Sensitivity to environmental pressures

"it is important to conceptualize the etiology of psychosocial dysfunctions within a socio-ecological framework. Since many Cuban clients tend to perceive themselves as unable to control natural forces or to modify detrimental environmental conditions, when environmental pressures or tensions seem to be a source of dysfunction, it is necessary that therapeutic interventions include direct intervention by the therapist on environmental sources of client functional impairment (p. 7)." (For example, make appointments with a social worker, arrange meetings with teachers and family, and make sure the client makes the meetings.)

Present time oriented

"The Cuban client is usually mobilized for treatment by the onset of a crisis and expects the therapist to provide immediate problem oriented solutions to the crisis situation (p. 7)."

Conclusion

"A therapy that is more consistent with Cuban's basic value orientations has a therapist who is an active leader, who is concerned and willing to intervene directly in daily social-environmental problems confronted by their patients, and who focuses the patient on concrete, obtainable goals based on overcoming present needs (p. 8)."

PROBLEMS WITH EXISTING SERVICES

"Mental health services developed in the United States have in the past been established by and conducted for mainstream populations. Consequently, the models of service delivery that were developed were most acceptable to the mainstream populations. By that I mean white, young adult, middle-class, verbal, intelligent individuals. The very same people that had the most psychological, social and political options. Unfortunately, however, contrary to the beliefs of several decades ago, one form of mental health services is not equally adequate for all. Thus, the services that had in the past been developed for these groups were not adequate for many other populations, such as the Black, the Hispanic, and the elderly, (p. 4)." (Szapocznik, 1979)

"Too often Hispanic countries have adopted treatment methodologies that were developed in the United States and which were found to work effectively for certain American populations. But, in many instances, to impose these approaches to our Hispanic populations may violate our groups' basic value structure. I would like to encourage this professional assembly to be alert to the problems of matching patient characteristics and treatment. In order to determine what treatments work best with your population, you must first understand their problems, then decide how the population works, and lastly, design or identify an existing treatment that is culture-syntonic to the population while having the flexibility to be adapted to address your population's mental health problems, (p.8)." (Szapocznik, 1979)

XII. COUNSELING STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES

CULTURE CONFLICT

Acculturation

1. "A programmatic effort was conducted in Dade County, Florida, to develop bicultural alternatives to secondary education. As part of this effort an Hispanic counseling model was developed to promote adjustment in Hispanic youths by enhancing their bicultural survival skills. (p. 354) In an effort to move toward biculturalism, group sessions in ethnic values clarification are helpful. In these sessions students may learn about ethnic value differences and then proceed to explore those aspects of Hispanic and Anglo values that are positive and those that are negative to them. Throughout this process it may also be desirable to explore those aspects of each culture that arouse feelings of pride and attraction or embarrassment and rejection.

   ...Bicultural students need to learn communication and negotiation skills in two different cultural contexts, each with a separate set of rules. Bicultural students must be aware of these differences and need to develop the flexibility to implement different survival skills according to the cultural context in which they function, (p. 364)." (Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez, 1980)

2. Use of an ecological approach in working with youth and their family:

   > "...the therapist initiated actions aimed at improving the family member's relationships to particular ecosystems outside of the family...a distinguishing feature of the ecological system was that the therapeutic system included not only the therapist and the family members, but also representatives of ecosystems with whom the family had dysfunctional relationships. For example, the therapist would make direct contact with the school teachers and 'counselors' of the client. The therapist might arrange psychological evaluation aimed at clarifying educational needs and vocational aptitudes...The therapist might also intervene directly to help the parents become more involved with school personnel, perhaps by acting as an advocate of the family at meetings with school authorities, (p. 4)." (Hispanic Research Center, 1979)

3. Use of the family in counseling:

   > "...Recent data indicate that family, relatives, and/or community do not, on their own, function as effective psychosocial support systems (Carp and Kataoka, 1976; Spence, Cohen and Kowalski, 1976; Szapocznik, et al., 1977). These studies show that while the potential for psychosocial support exist within family and community structures, relevant and culturally sensitive psychotherapeutic interventions are required to actualize this potential, (p. 5)." (Szapocznik, et al., 1977)

RECOMMENDED MODIFICATIONS IN TRADITIONAL TECHNIQUES

1. "Since acculturation-related problems tend to become manifest within the family, a treatment model based on a family-oriented approach appears to be desirable. Since Cubans value an orientation which avoids transacting with extra-familial systems in order to modify detrimental environmental circumstances, an ecological conceptualization of service delivery seems indicated. The treatment model developed at the Center was based on a social ecological model and a general systems approach...The most salient characteristics of this approach were that: (1) the therapist assessed the client needs by obtaining information about the individual's functioning from various relevant systems in the client's ecological context; and (2) treatment consisted of therapeutic interventions between the client and those systems in most need of therapeutic interventions. The therapist intervened in the dysfunctional aspects of the client's ecological functioning in order to improve them. For example, the therapist would make direct contact with a client's probation officer, teacher, or employer, (Hispanic Research Center, 1979)

2. Demetrios Leventis (in Goldman 1974) makes several comparisons between Cyprus and the application of US counseling methods which are applicable to the Cuban culture. In Cyprus, there is "great pressure on the part of the family and society on the individual to conform and to subordinate one's private life to the unwritten code and laws of society, especially for the females. Counselors have a hard time when they accept the individual differences and defend the rights of the individual." In communities where a strong extended family still exists a client-centered, problem solving approach which stresses the individual's self discovery and the rights of the individual may not be an adequate counseling approach. What may be needed is an approach which will integrate the individual with his/her family. In otherwords, rather than focusing on the individual, the counselor will also have to help the client clarify and understand his/her family's and his/her communities' values, and the client's role within that value structure.

3. Ezekiel Olaniyi Olaoye (in Goldman 1974) discussing American counseling practices in Nigeria gives an illustration which is applicable to Cuban-Americans from more traditional families and communities. "I have found that...the nondirective approach to counseling does not go down easily with a large section of my clients. Our culture gives much respect to the opinions of elders. When young people come for counseling, therefore, they come more with a view to 'being told what to do' than being helped to explore themselves more thoroughly in order to be able to find an answer to their problems, (p. 51)." While Cuban youth raised in America may profit greatly from a helping, non-directive counseling approach, it is likely that a mixture of directive (sound advice) and non-directive technique will be the most effective. This has been supported by Dr. de la Torre, Director of the Student Health Services at the University of Florida.

XIII. CONCLUSIONS

All refugees who come to the United States will be faced to some degree with all of the problems identified in the literature (Arredondo-Dowd, 1980; Szapocznik, numerous references cited in bibliography) which are listed below:

1. Limited knowledge of the English language
2. Loss of country
3. Relocation and culture shock
4. Loss of social status (for example: black Cubans may not have experienced strong racial discrimination before, and doctors and teachers who cannot work because they aren't certified in the U.S.)
5. Social isolation and loneliness
6. Lack of an appropriate support system in the community
7. Lack of knowledge and skills to utilize the social delivery system in America
8. Lack of intercultural skills necessary to negotiate their way into American society
9. The emergence of intergenerational acculturation differences

For the new, post-1980 refugees there is also:

10. The social stigma attached to being part of the Mariel boatlift

Although these problems will be strongest among the more recent arrivals, many of them are being experienced by Cuban-Americans who have been here for years. This is especially true of adolescents and young adults who were born in Cuba or the U.S. and were raised in Miami or other strong Cuban/Hispanic communities that reinforced and maintained Cuban culture. As these young people leave home and attend college for the first time they will suddenly be confronted with challenges of university life and the realization that they are part of a distinct minority.

No matter what group within the Cuban community a client comes from, he/she will be caught somewhere in the struggle between Cuban and American culture, the struggle to redefine self in terms of old realities and the new circumstances in which the client finds himself/herself.

For the counselor/psychologist working with Cubans and Cuban-Americans an awareness of this struggle isn't enough. The counselor must also be knowledgeable about the culture and values of the client and the ways in which these affect the counseling relationship. Further, the counselor/psychologist must be skilled in transcultural counseling in the ability to incorporate the client's values into the counseling process. The result will then be the selection of strategies and techniques which will provide the psychologist with the most effective plan for meeting the client's needs.

This monograph has attempted to provide information which the authors feel will facilitate the counselors'/psychologists' understanding of Cuban cultural values and their implications for counseling. While it was impossible to include all sources and information, the monograph, based on the Axiological Orientations, provides a beginning and a conceptual model for the counselor/psychologist wishing to increase his/her understanding of cross-cultural counseling theory and practice.

XIV. APPENDIX A: GENERAL OUTLINE OF U.S. VALUE ORIENTATIONS

- I. Self
  - A. Societal Relationship of Self
    - 1. Individualism
  - B. Age
    - 1. Youth
  - C. Sex
    - 3. Male dominant (although the ideal is male-female equality)
  - D. Activity
    - 1. Doing
- II. The Family
  - A. Relational orientations
    - 1. Individualistic orientation
  - B. Authority
    - 1. Democratic
  - C. Positional Role Behavior
    - 1. Open
  - D. Mobility
    - 1. High mobility
- III. Society
  - A. Social Reciprocity
    - 1. Independence
  - B. Group membership
    - 1. Super affiliate
  - C. Intermediaries
    - 1. Directness (no intermediaries)
  - D. Formality
    - 1. Informal
  - E. Property
    - 1. Private Property
- IV. Human Nature
  - A. Rationality
    - 1. Rational

B. Good and Evil

3. Evil (this is the traditional Puritan emphasis)

1. Good (this is reflected in a Carl Rogers approach to education)

These two belief systems have constantly been at odds, especially in the educational system.

C. Happiness and Pleasure

1. Happiness as a goal

D. Mutability

1. Change, growth, and learning

V. Nature

A. Relationship of man and nature

1. Man dominating nature

B. Ways of Knowing Nature

2. Circle of induction and deduction

C. Structure of Nature

1. Mechanistic

D. Concept of Time

1. Future

VI. Supernatural

A. Relationship of Man and the Supernatural

1. Man as God (or almost equal with)

B. Meaning of life

1. Physical and material goals

C. Providence

1. Good in life is unlimited

D. Knowledge of the Cosmic Order

1. Order is comprehensible

XV. APPENDIX B: MIRROR IMAGES OF CONFLICT BY SANDRA FRADD

Many people mistakenly believe that all refugees who enter the United States come here voluntarily. These people convey the feeling that refugees should be grateful and content to be here in this country. The purpose of this discourse is not to present a political position on refugee immigration, but to give some consideration to the difficulties which refugees from a different political system, specifically Cuba, may have in adjusting to the United States.

Many of the immigrants who arrived in the United States from Cuba in 1980 have expressed the feeling that they have gone back in time, that they have been experiencing a time warp. They see the economic and social systems of the United States as resembling those of pre-revolutionary Cuba. This perspective puts them in the position of reliving pages of history which have already been written. This point of view is unsettling, to say the least.

Some of the teenage children who accompanied their parents did so out of family loyalty and not out of a desire to live in the U.S. These young people were born into the revolution, have been raised and educated in that environment, and until their arrival here, had known no other form of government. All of their training in school and in after-school programs has been focused on the importance of their contribution to communism, loyalty to Cuba, and pride in being Cuban. Much of what they have been taught in Cuban schools is a mirror image of the ideas and ideals promoted in the United States. The two would compliment each other were it not for the fact that the United States and Cuba are in ideological conflict.

The following contrasts in similarities between the ideologies of Cuba and the United States are presented with the expectation that by understanding some of the areas of conflict, those people who work with the Cuban immigrants in the school system may better understand and assist the students adjust to their new way of life. No political doctrine is being extolled, nor should any political interpretations be made.

José Martí is a famous Cuban statesman of the nineteenth century who was exiled and lived part of his life in the United States. In Cuba he is currently revered as the first leader of the revolutionary movement. In the United States he holds an equally elevated position as the Apostle of Freedom. Both Cuban and Cuban-Americans in the U.S. celebrate Martí's birthday with similar festivities. Yet when students read books published in Cuba and in the U.S on Martí's life, he appears to be two entirely different people with the same face and same character. This statement can also be made about less visible Cuban heros.

Cuba considers itself "El primer teritorio libre de las Américas", (the first free country in the Americas). Frequently when the time is given over the Cuban radio stations, the announcement is accompanied by a statement about the freedom which the Cuban people have achieved through the revolution. The United States also considers itself to be "the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave."

The woman's liberation movement has been active in the United States for the past decade. The movement has encouraged woman to become politically active and to join the work force as contributing wage earners. The same movement has been active in Cuba denouncing women as bourgeois who did not join the Federation of Cuban Women or who did not seek employment outside the home.

A fourth area of similarity is in the educational concept of the brotherhood of mankind. Children are taught that they should know about children of other countries. Frequently this concept is depicted as a chain of children encircling the globe. Cuban children are also taught that they should learn about and love children in other countries. They are taught that all children, all people, should be equal, all should be afforded the same advantages, that all peoples are the same. While these messages are noble, one must look a little more deeply to understand an important and perhaps confusing difference. While both countries are teaching the equality of mankind, the meanings which the word "equality" conveys are different. Equality can mean "equal under the law" or it can mean sharing the same thoughts, ideas and aspirations: "being of one mind."

There are probably many other areas of similarity and difference between the two ideologically opposing systems of government. It is not realistic to expect children from one regime to make a smooth and rapid transition from one philosophy to another. Surface adjustments can mask inner conflicts and confusion about the "rightness" of one group or the other. Sometimes discussion on these and other topics of conflict can help the students resolve their own ideological differences.

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